The language of hospitality

Schreurs, Leanne

DOI:
10.33612/diss.101947146

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Crossing the threshold between speech act and linguistic form

Leanne Schreurs

This research was financially supported by Saxion University of Applied Sciences

Cover design: Bregje Jaspers | www.studio0404.nl

Printing: Ridderprint | www.ridderprint.nl

ISBN (printed version): 978-94-6375-496-5
ISBN (electronic version): 978-94-6375-646-4

rijksuniversiteit
groningen

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Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
op gezag van de
rector magnificus prof. dr. C. Wijmenga
en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.

De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

maandag 9 december 2019 om 11.00 uur

door

Leanne Schreurs

geboren op 19 december 1982
te Heerenveen

Promotores

Prof. dr. H.L.M. Hermans
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Preface

The Hospitality Business School (HBS) of Saxion University of Applied Sciences offers tertiary vocational education in the fields of Hotel, Tourism, and Facility Management. Traditionally, both the curriculum and research agenda of HBS have been dominated by a managerial perspective in which hospitality is primarily seen as an organizational resource which can be exchanged for monetary gains. In more recent years, realizing that hospitality is more than merely trading a bed and additional services for money, HBS expressed the desire to take a broader view to fully comprehend the concept of hospitality. To fulfill this ambition, the research group 'Ethics and Global Citizenship' of HBS in cooperation with the University of Groningen (UG) adopted a research project devoted to studying hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective. The cooperation between HBS and UG resulted in this dissertation, which can be characterized as highly INTERDISCIPLINARY.

From the point of view of HBS, the most important contribution of this dissertation is the study of HOSPITALITY in a broad sense. It considers hospitality not merely as a phenomenon in the host-guest relationship between speakers in the commercial sector, but also, for instance, within the domestic domain. In addition, from the point of view of UG, this dissertation contributes to the field of PRAGMATICS, as it intends to provide some independent support for the relationship between speech acts and the linguistic forms involved to construct these acts. Taking a pragmalinguistic approach to hospitality enables us to study a rather intangible concept (cf. hospitality) within a rather rigid theoretical framework (cf. Pragmalinguistics). As such, this dissertation contributes to the development of Hospitality Studies as an academic field.

Studying the communication between hosts and guests in daily life hospitality situations may shed light on the issue of how language contributes to hospitality. In addition, the pragmalinguistic approach to hospitality may be relevant, considering that, as a result of growing internationalization and migration, contemporary host-guest interactions are increasingly characterized by cultural and linguistic differences. For example, since the outbreak of the civil war in Syria in 2011, over 11 million Syrians have fled their homes. The majority has sought refuge within Syria itself, while others (about five million people) have gone to neighboring countries, as well as to European countries (an estimated one million people). When knocking on the doors of host countries in request for asylum, the first contact between hosts (in many cases rescue workers) and guests (the refugees) is established by means of communication.

Needless to say, I invite you to come along with me, and discover how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality in the communication between hosts and guests – the protagonists of this dissertation.

Leanne Schreurs
Zwolle, May 28, 2019

Chapter 1

Hospitality and language

This chapter is partly based on Schreurs, L. (2017). Observing hospitality speech patterns. In C. Lashley (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Hospitality Studies* (pp. 169-179). London, England: Routledge.

1.1 Defining the Frontiers of Knowledge[1]

The present research aims to address the lack of linguistic research on hospitality by examining how language transmits hospitality in our daily life. In daily life, hospitality concerns the encounter between strangers, neighbors, and friends, that is to say, between "people who are not regular members of a household" (Telfer, 2001, p. 39). In daily life, speakers say 'Come in', 'Have a seat', and 'Make yourself at home' in an attempt to be hospitable. Clearly, nobody is surprised or offended or whatsoever, although the verb mood used is the imperative – a mood that is traditionally related to giving orders, a rather hostile act. If it is true that words can be both welcoming and inhospitable, words are not 'just words'. As an illustration, consider the following case of king Juan Carlos I of Spain addressing the late Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez.

At the 2007 Ibero-American Summit in Santiago, Chili, the Spanish king surprised the world addressing the Venezuelan president with the famous words indicated in (1):

(1) *¿Por qué no te callas?* 'Why don't you shut up?' (cf. Egurbide, 2007)

It was a reaction to Chávez's continuous interruption of the speech of the former prime minister of Spain, Zapatero, to insult his right wing predecessor Aznar. The king's utterance had great impact and effects. It disturbed the diplomatic relations between Spain and Venezuela, hence threatening the economic interests of both countries. On the other hand, it also provided a number of commercial benefits that generated millions of dollars, since the phrase started to ring from mobile phones and to appear on T-shirts, in YouTube video clips, etcetera (Sanz Ezquerro, 2013). Yet, linguistically speaking, the Spanish king had just asked the Venezuelan president a question, to which the answer could have been 'Because I've got so much to tell you', or words to that effect. So, how could this speech act not be taken neutrally and have such an impact in the first place?

The example of Chávez in (1) is an example of an indirect speech act (cf. Searle, 1975, p. 59). Strictly speaking, the utterance is indeed a question, yet it

[1] The slogan of the University of Groningen is 'Working at the frontiers of knowledge' (https://www.rug.nl).

indirectly provokes an action of the interlocutor. Obviously, at the heart of the controversy is that Chávez, and the entire world audience with him, took the king's utterance as the attempt to silence Chávez implied by it, rather than as the mere question it literally indicates. Important in this regard are the circumstances under which the phrase was uttered. The atmosphere that surrounded the summit was already tense because of the problematic relationship between Spain and Venezuela at that time. Moreover, the king addressed Chávez using the second person singular verb conjugation *'te callas'*, which indicates a familiar 'you' (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999, p. 1401). Although in Spanish this may be a common form of address in equal social relationships, such as one between two heads of state, in conflictive situations the familiar form of the verb may also be used as a sign of depreciation to offend the interlocutor. The unusual public display of such anger for the normally correct Spanish king most certainly contributed to the uptake of the utterance as an attempt to silence Chávez.

In linguistics, these processes – the expression of (dis)approval, and the attempt to influence one's behavior – have been related to the notion of *face* (Brown & Levinson 1987, p. 61), that is, one's public self-image. The notion of face responds to two basic needs in communication. On the one hand, it is argued that one needs to feel appreciated by others (*positive face*). On the other hand, one supposedly wants his actions to be unimpeded by others (*negative face*). Both desires were openly threatened by the king's utterance. The use of the informal 'you' indicated a sign of depreciation, and in addition, the king's attempt to silence Chávez impeded the latter's freedom of action. And so, the king's words, which literally indicated only a question, were interpreted as being highly offensive.

Now let us compare the Chávez-case in (1) with the utterance in (2), which was found in the context of a hospitality situation taken from a novel that will be discussed in Chapter 2. It is uttered in a dialogue between two characters of the novel, both inhabitants of the same village. The one, riding a horse, knocks on the door of the other, after which he is addressed as follows:

(2) *¿Por qué no se desmonta y se cuela?* 'Why don't you get off the horse and come in?' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 158; translation ours)

Similar to the Chávez-case in (1), the example of the horse rider in (2) consists of an interrogative sentence structure with a negation. As such, resembling the Chávez-case in (1), it literally indicates a question. Yet, in sharp contrast, the horse rider-case in (2) is interpreted as an invitation to come in, as the remainder of the dialogue will show (see Section 2.2.2). Hence, surprisingly, one and the same linguistic structure may be interpreted as either a sign of hostility or as a gesture of hospitality.[2]

The examples in (1) and (2) illustrate that the meaning of invariant linguistic forms may lead to different interpretations and thus to various communicated messages (Diver, Huffman, & Davis, 2012, p. 53). The pragmatic message of an utterance is expressed by means of speech acts; speech acts have a certain linguistic structure, such as an interrogative sentence structure in the case of a question. Problematically, speech acts are not objectively verifiable categories. As has been argued above, this means that the literal meaning of 'Why don't you shut up?' does not entail any sort of offense, nor does 'Why don't you come in?' involve some invitation. Hence, the linguistic forms that constitute speech acts, such as verb conjugations, are the only observable indications that speakers can account for (cf. Diver et al., 2012, p. 451). The meaning of the linguistic forms, however, is no more than "a collection of hints offered by the speaker" (Diver et al., 2012, p. 479). In our attempt to explain how the literal meaning of specifically the Chávez-case in (1) has automatically been overlooked by the pragmatic message it implies, we primarily considered information from extralinguistic factors, such as the circumstances under which the speech act was performed, and linguistic aspects such as verb conjugation. Yet, stating that context plays a key role in the interpretation of an utterance is unsatisfactory to some extent, since it only partially answers the question of why the pragmatic implied message may deviate from the literal meaning of an utterance. The question how interpretation actually takes shape remains largely unanswered.

[2] In a study of indirect and direct directive speech acts in Spanish, Mulder (1998) distinguishes five categories of types of directive speech acts which may shed light on the difference in the interpretation of the Chávez-case in (1) and the horse rider-case in (2). Following Mulder (1998, pp. 208-209), it can be argued that (1) is performed to the benefit of the speaker, or even to the benefit of a third party (viz., the former prime minister of Spain, Zapatero), whereas (2) is performed in the interest of the interlocutor, or even in the interest of both the speaker and the interlocutor. We will come back to the difference between directive speech acts in terms of the BENEFICIARY in Section 3.4.

What is more, this issue seems to be particularly relevant to the concept of hospitality, since, in many languages, invitations are typically performed in imperative mood, as in (3) and (4):

(3) Come [IMPERAT] in (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99)

(4) Please come [IMPERAT] in, Sir (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 101)

Although the force of the imperative mood in the invitation in (4) as compared to the one in (3) is softened by 'Please' and the respect term 'Sir', traditionally, the imperative mood is related to giving orders, and, as such, seems to imply a rather hostile act (see Section 3.1 for a discussion of orders and invitations in imperative mood based on these examples).

Developing an understanding of how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality is therefore essential. This is the central aim of this dissertation. In the remainder of this chapter we first describe how the concept of hospitality has been approached from different perspectives. Next, we turn to the approach that is taken in this dissertation to investigate hospitality and clarify the key concepts underlying the present research. Finally, we present an overview of the empirical chapters of this dissertation.

1.2 What is Hospitality?

1.2.1 The hospitality business industry

To many of us, hospitality in the public sphere of, say, bars, hotels and restaurants is maybe the most well-known form of hospitality. The typical holiday feeling we are seeking to have when leaving behind daily routine, and taking the temporary role of tourist is reflected in the song text in (5):

(5) *Vacaciones de verano para mí,*
caminando por la arena junto a ti.
Vacaciones de verano para mí.
Hoy mi vida comienza a despertar,

hoy se ha abierto la puerta sin llamar,
hoy te tengo a mi lado y soy feliz
'Summer holidays for me,
walking by the sand with you.
Summer holidays for me.
Today my life begins to wake up,
today the door was opened without calling,
today I have you with me and I'm happy' (*Vacaciones de verano*; Fórmula V, 1972)

Vacaciones de verano 'Summer holidays' is a famous song of the Spanish band Fórmula V which was first published at the beginning of the 1970s. As is typical for the *canción del verano* 'summer hit', it has a catchy chorus and reflects summer fun and happiness. Nowadays, the Mediterranean area is generally known for its white beaches and clear water. To many, a visit to one of Spain's famous *costas* stands for relaxation, good food, and party time. In 2017, an estimated 82 million tourists visited Spain, making Spain the world's second most visited country after France (Asengo Dominguez, 2018).

The term 'hospitality' became a label for the industry in the USA in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since then, it is used to describe the commercial hotel and catering sector (Lashley, Lynch, & Morrison, 2007, p. 5). Focusing on the management of commercial hospitality service organizations has been a common way to approach hospitality in the past decades (Lashley et al., 2007, p. 1). This may not be surprising, considering that the possibility to travel is nowadays within the reach of millions (World Economic Forum, 2017). Considering hospitality as a strategy to make money thus pays off. In modern industrial countries, many have experienced to be either a host or a guest (or even both) due to a variety of factors, such as reduced travel expenses (e.g., by the emergence of low-costs airlines in the mid-1990s), removed travel barriers (e.g., by the disappearance of internal borders in Europe as agreed in the Schengen Agreement in 1985), and rapid economic growth of the BRIC nations (viz., Brazil, Russia, India, and China). Consequently, when speaking about hospitality, images of all-inclusive holidays to safe and sunny beach resorts, frequently offered at low prices, immediately pop up. Other forms of commercial hospitality that are recognizable to many may be related to visiting a restaurant or staying at a hotel or

hostel. Also, more recently, private house rentals are popular alternatives to the traditional hotel industry (Brauckmann, 2017, p. 114).

Hospitality as a business presupposes an exchange process between hosts and guests. Lashley (2001, p. 369), for example, argues that food, beverage, and lodging are exchanged for money in the hospitality business. In line with this definition, Heffernan (2014) defines commercial hospitality as "the business of furnishing food or lodging or both to paying visitors who are typically called guests" (p. 11). In addition, Brotherton (1999) emphasizes the temporality and the human nature of the exchange with regard to commercial hospitality, as he defines the concept as a "contemporaneous human exchange, which is voluntarily entered into, and designed to enhance the mutual well-being of the parties concerned through the provision of accommodation, and/or food and/or drink" (p. 168). Thus, guests may occupy a table in a restaurant, but are expected to leave once the meal has been consumed and paid for.[3] Similarly, within a hotel, guests 'buy' a bed for a specific number of nights, after which they are supposed to leave.

Importantly, to ensure the well-being of both the visiting and the receiving party, certain behavior from either side is expected. For example, within a hotel setting, guests are expected to consider the host's instructions when it comes to the check-in and check-out time, in order to ensure a smooth transition from one guest to another. Similarly, breakfast service is commonly only available within a certain time slot set by the host. Moreover, guests are expected to consider the host's instructions when it comes to the use of towels, apparently, in an attempt to save the environment. Other, mostly unwritten, examples would be the expectation to carefully handle the furniture available to the guest, and to not disturb other guests. In return, within the same setting, hosts have to provide a clean room and safe facilities, and to assist guests in finding a specific tourist attraction or dining place, to give some examples. Also, hosts are expected to kindly welcome guests. In this regard, gift-giving strategies to express appreciation are quite common, for example, in leaving a chocolate on the hotel pillow. Importantly, hosts may also be well aware of the power of giving 'gifts' in language usage to enhance the guest's wellbeing, such as the expression of sympathy, cooperation, and understanding (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129; we will return to

[3] For this reason, chairs supposedly have been designed to be uncomfortable in fast food restaurants, since particularly these kinds of restaurants depend on fast table turnover (Whitaker, 2012).

this matter in Section 4.1.2). This is very well expressed in a Dutch TV commercial of the fast food chain McDonald's. It shows a little boy ordering a meal for the whole family. The lady behind the counter addresses him as 'sir'. When the parents ask their son whether he managed to order the meal, he answers, very cheerfully: 'She called me "Sir"!' To have been addressed with a respectful title of address seemed to impress him more than to have successfully ordered the meal (www.youtube.com/watch?v=d9J6KNba4vU).

Hospitality taken as such is a business, an economic activity in which food, lodging and services are exchanged for money. Typically, hospitality in the sense of a business strategy is a means of gaining benefit: the guest benefits from hospitality services, and, in doing so, the guest is able to benefit the host (Telfer, 2000, as cited in Lashley, 2015, p. 370). Moreover, the exchange in the hospitality business is temporal and based on a voluntary basis. Only when both guest and host agree a transaction is completed. But once outside the beach resort, leaving behind the safety and the clear rules characteristic of the hospitality business industry, then, what is left of hospitality?

1.2.2 Hospitality, or rather hostility?

In the previous section, hospitality has been described as an exchange process between hosts and guests, such as between hotel managers and the previously mentioned tourists visiting the Spanish coast. In the past years, besides being a popular tourist destination, the Mediterranean countries have also received a great number of another type of visitor: the refugee, fleeing for war, persecution, or poverty back home. In 2017, over 111 thousand people were detected crossing a sea border to the European Union, with people from Nigeria (over 18 thousand) and Syria (over 16 thousand) at the top of the ranking (Statista, 2017). To them, reaching one of the Mediterranean countries supposedly is a gateway to a better life.

In the summer of 2017, a boat carrying refugees landed on a popular tourist beach in Cádiz, Spain. This occurrence, which was filmed by one of the tourists probably spending *vacaciones de verano* at the Spanish coast, provides a striking example of the encounter between the two different groups of travelers. On the one hand, there are the tourists, enjoying a sunny day at the beach. On the other hand, we see the people on the boat, exhausted from a long and dangerous journey over sea (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KK-0DbOG3zk). The difference between the two types of visitors could not have been bigger. Although tourist and refugee are

walking by the same sand probably far away from home, summer fun and happiness are far to be found for the latter type of traveler. Indeed, reaching the European coast may, for many, entail the start of a new life, but for them doors will be hardly opened, and certainly not 'without calling', as the song text in (5) suggests.

The large-scale migration flow leads to numerous encounters between migrants and residents of the hosting regions. Receiving countries struggle with dealing with the influx, which leads to disagreements about how to deal with people coming from, mostly, the Middle East and Africa. Although examples are known of residents offering food, blankets, and "whatever hospitality they had to offer" (cf. Merelli, 2017, about the case of Lampedusa in the winter of 2011), these encounters generally do not have much in common with hospitality. In contrast, the language used on internet fora to define people on the flee is, not rarely, hostile. A quick look at the comments under the video concerning the boat refugees reaching the beach of Cádiz reveals that insults are commonplace as well as calls for coast control, and even demands – and here we quote – to "destroy the unwanted parasites" (in capital letters originally; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KK-0DbOG3zk).

The event at the beach of Cádiz illustrates that, in daily life, it is quite unambiguous what hospitality is. At least, it shows that it is clear who is welcome, and who is not. Travelers belonging to the one group, the tourists, are, generally speaking, considered to be desired guests, who are commonly given a warm welcome (Lashley et al., 2007, p. 12). Travelers of the other group, the refugees or migrants, are considered, in certain contexts, to be undesired visitors, who in many cases experience to be regarded as parasites of society (Lashley et al., 2007, p. 12). In this regard, it has been stated that only by overcoming the initial aversion to the stranger (he might be a murderer!) and to respect him being different, hosts can be truly hospitable (Welten, 2013, pp. 156-158). The contrast in attitudes towards both groups may be caused by another difference between both types of travelers. Tourists make use of hospitality services in exchange for money, whereas refugees, possessing nothing but the clothes they wear, do not have anything to offer in return. As such, they are forced to make an appeal to hosting countries for food and shelter, yet in many cases encounter hostility rather than hospitality.[4]

[4] According to Benveniste (1973), the etymological origins of hospitality already reveal that hospitality and hostility are related notions. Both 'guest' and 'enemy' derive their meaning from 'stranger'. Yet, the notion 'favorable stranger' developed to 'guest', whereas that of 'hostile stranger' to 'enemy'.

Hospitality in relation to the former group of travelers, the tourists, is considered to be conditional. As has been argued above, restrictions with regard to the duration of the visitor's stay, and expectations about certain behavior that is considered to be appropriate to the specific situation, are commonly taken into account. With regard to hospitality between individuals in a domestic setting, in many cultures it is common to give a gift (e.g., a bottle of fine wine) to the host as a sign of appreciation. Also, promises are made, on either side, to receive the other on the next occasion. In addition, the guest is, in one way or another, known or related to the host or, in the case of the hospitality business, is able to identify himself at least. Considering that refugees and migrants are not always able to do so, nor might have the resources to compensate for their stay in receiving countries, hospitality in relation to the latter group of travelers can only exist when the receiving countries give place to the absolute unknown and anonymous traveler, without expecting anything in return.[5] Theoretically, to be truly hospitable to these types of travelers, hospitality may even require suspending language; asking the refugee's or migrant's name would force the use of a particular language – the language of the receiving country – on the refugee or migrant.[6]

Hence, a critical examination of the role of language seems to be appropriate when studying hospitality. Nonetheless, in the past years, academic studies of the hospitality industry have mostly taken a management approach (Lashley, 2015, p. 368). In recent years, however, alternative approaches to studying hospitality have developed in response to the call for broadening the traditional management perspective. These are commonly clustered under the term 'Hospitality Studies' (Lashley, 2017, p. 1).

1.2.3 Hospitality Studies

Hospitality Studies as an academic field examines the notion of hospitality as a human phenomenon (Lashley, 2017, p. 1). In doing so, it presents opportunities to explore a whole range of new areas of study. The case of the previously mentioned refugees

[5] In this regard, it has been referred to as the notion of unconditional or *absolute hospitality* (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000, p. 25).

[6] It has been argued that, in daily life, the acts that are typically performed in hospitality situations, such as inviting, welcoming, and receiving, take shape in language (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000, pp. 133-135).

reaching the Spanish coast, for example, besides being a migration issue, would possibly unchain a debate about the boundaries of hospitality when approached from a Hospitality Studies perspective. Moreover, gaining a better understanding of specifically the academic fields of Arts and Social Sciences is considered to be essential in order to broaden the management perspective (Lashley et al., 2007, p. 4). Hence, academics in several fields such as historians (e.g., Heal, 1990; Strong, 2002), theologians (e.g., Martin, 2014; Pohl, 1999), anthropologists (e.g., Nash, 2007; Selwyn, 2001), sociologists (e.g., Beardsworth & Keil, 1997; Ritzer, 2004; Warde & Martens, 2000), and philosophers (e.g., Derrida, 2000; Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000; Telfer, 1996, 2001; Welten, 2015) have contributed to the meaning of hospitality from their own discipline. Consequently, perspectives that are taken to shape the concept differ from expressions of conventional hospitality, such as hospitality as an industry (cf. Brotherton & Wood, 2001), to the notion of absolute hospitality, as has been discussed above.

Likewise, the existing literature on hospitality in relation to language in particular addresses the concept from various perspectives. For example, Benveniste (1973) examines hospitality as a social phenomenon by looking at the etymology of the term. Furthermore, Blue and Harun (2003) address the difficulties in cross-cultural communication between hosts and guests from different linguistic backgrounds, and offer solutions to improve the hospitality skills of front-line staff in the hospitality industry. Moreover, Cohen and Cooper (1986) conduct a sociolinguistic study of verbal encounters in touristic situations. In the philosophical tradition of Derrida and Dufourmantelle (2000), language and hospitality are considered to be intertwined notions. They question whether it is possible to address foreigners, and be truly hospitable at the same time.[7] More recently, Malicka, Gilabert Guerrero, and Norris (2019) investigate the design of pedagogic tasks in the domain of a hotel receptionist's job, focusing on the relationship between the kind of tasks done in this domain, and the language use that is associated with these tasks, among other things.[8] Ricoeur and Kearney (2006) take a hermeneutic approach to hospitality based on the model of a

[7] Put another way, "language is hospitality" (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000, p. 135). Note that Derrida declares that he quotes Emmanuel Levinas here. He supposedly refers to Levinas' maxim that "the essence of language is friendship and hospitality" (Levinas, 1979, p. 305).

[8] We will see in Section 2.4 that Malicka et al. (2019) provide some insights on language usage in hospitality situations that help to interpret the findings presented in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

'linguistic hospitality', by which they address the (in)hospitableness of translating a guest language into a host language. Also, in two sociolinguistic studies, Robinson and Lynch (2007a; 2007b) explore the subjective experience of hospitality through the analysis of poems. Smith (2013) discusses multilingualism in two films in which a meeting between local and migrant characters is negotiated by use of a third – neutral – language. Finally, Still (2004) provides an essay on language as hospitality integrating several issues, including the proposition that unconditional hospitality requires suspending language (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000, p. 134; see Section 1.2.2) as opposed to Levinas' maxim about friendship and hospitality being the essence of language (Levinas, 1979, p. 305; see note 7).

The previous review, albeit not exhaustive, reveals several issues. First, hospitality appears to be 'intangible' in the sense that different perspectives to study the notion yield different outcomes. That is, it remains difficult to come up with one definition suitable to all contexts. Indeed, the study of hospitality is rooted in the host-guest relationship, but there are still ambiguities about the identity of both host and guest. Studies conducted from a managerial perspective usually only consider 'traditional' hospitality relationships, such as the ones between tourists and reception desk employees, whereas Social Science disciplines are also interested in the relationship between, for example, host communities and migrants (Lashley et al., 2007, pp. 6-7). Second, there is interesting research that either examines language in relation to hospitality or, in other cases, takes a linguistic perspective to the subject. Still, the linguistic approach to hospitality has been underexposed to date (Robinson & Lynch, 2007b, p. 142). Since language may contribute to the experience of hospitality, as will be investigated in this dissertation, understanding which linguistic strategies are used to create a sense of hospitality may be vital for the survival of hospitality business industries. Moreover, contemporary host-guest interactions, both in- and outside the hospitality business industry, may be increasingly characterized by cultural and linguistic difference due to growing internationalization and migration (Hooghe, Trappers, Meuleman, & Reeskens, 2008, pp. 483-484). Third, the scientific field that specifically analyzes language usage in its context, the field of Pragmatics, does not respond at all when it comes to hospitality.

In this regard, an additional issue is that existing linguistic analyses commonly use qualitative research methodologies, such as contextual interpretations of individual examples, to demonstrate the validity of a certain hypothesis (Contini-Morava, 1995,

p. 23). As such, objective demonstrations for the relationship between the pragmatic aspects of utterances that are expressed by means of speech acts (viz., unverifiable categories) and linguistic forms (viz., the only observable indications) are scarce. Yet, independent evidence for linguistic analyses is also needed (De Jonge, 2011, p. 1). This is especially true for the field of Pragmatics when considering how the whole – the pragmatic message – can be greater than the sum of the parts – the meaning of the linguistic forms. Moreover, it is of particular interest to the notion of hospitality, since the provision of quantitative empirical evidence would facilitate a next step in making 'the intangible tangible'. That is, it would provide independent support for the functioning of hospitality. A notion that has characteristically no assignable meaning, that even disintegrates meaning, that implies that the negation of hospitality is also hospitality as the examples throughout this chapter have shown, but that comes to life through language. In sum, a quantitative approach would contribute to our understanding of how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality.

1.3 Hospitality in daily Life

Hospitality will be analyzed as far as the communication between hosts and guests in everyday life hospitality situations is concerned.[9] Whereas the host belongs to a household or community that is being visited by the guest, and therefore, can be seen as a member of this specific household or community, the guest does not belong to the specific household or community, and, as such, is fundamentally a non-member. For a situation to be called typically hospitable, the non-member must cross a boundary or pass a threshold by invitation of the member of the household or community. Now, the non-member is referred to as the 'guest', the visitor who does not belong to the community but who is invited to share, for a restricted amount of time, the domain of the one he is visiting, the 'host'.[10] Guests and hosts are the protagonists of hospitality situations, which means that we cannot speak about a

[9] In this dissertation, we adhere to the classification of types of guest as proposed by Telfer (2001, pp. 45-49). These are (1) those in a relationship to the host, that is, people belonging to one's circle such as neighbors and colleagues; (2) people in need, including strangers; and (3) proper friends. Consequently, we consider a variety of social relationships, from strangers to friends, to be relevant to our analysis of language use in hospitality situations (see also Section 1.1).

[10] When the gender of an individual referred to in a sentence is unknown or not relevant, we use 'he' as the generic pronoun.

typical hospitable situation when there is no guest, implying that there neither is a host, and vice versa. In a similar vein, it can be argued that communication involves at least two parties. On the one hand, it requires a person who is performing a particular speech act, such as an invitation. On the other hand, it entails a person addressed, for example, the one who is being invited. In this dissertation, the former party is referred to as 'speaker', whereas the latter party is identified as 'interlocutor'. Clearly, speakers become interlocutors and vice versa, a process that goes back and forth throughout communication. Although hosts may become guests, *mutatis mutandis*, on a next occasion (cf. Lashley, 2015, p. 369), their roles do not change in one and the same hospitality situation, as opposed to speakers.

In order to fulfill their respective roles, hosts and guests need to show certain behavior. For example, turning back to the protagonists of the horse rider-case in (2), when two inhabitants are talking in the street, it is considered to be just an encounter between inhabitants. However, when one of them is invited by the other to come in to have a coffee, the neutral situation of the encounter in which both inhabitants have the same rights and obligations, turns into a hospitality situation.[11] Now, the receiving inhabitant faces a range of activities that needs to be done and that will probably differ between cultures, but that most likely exists of telling the visiting inhabitant to take a seat, to offer him a drink, and to maintain the conversation. The visiting inhabitant, in return, needs to correctly respond to what is offered, and at the same time must pay attention to the current rules, for example, he might need to take off his shoes before entering the house. This implies that hospitality situations can easily evolve into uncomfortable situations. What happens when the host, despite his good intentions, does not meet the expectations of the guest, or vice versa? Their existence is interdependent, but at the same time there is always uncertainty concerning the other's interpretation of the situation. In the horse rider-case in (2), the host literally intends to overcome this issue by just asking a question, leaving it up to the guest to decide whether to accept the invitation implied by it or not. We will come back to this issue in the next chapter to give it full credit there.

[11] A notable difference has been made between the common possession of the earth's surface on the one hand, and of the individual possession of structures made by humans, such as buildings, on that surface, on the other hand. That is, we cannot prohibit anyone to be on the same spot on earth as we are, as we do not possess earth's surface. On the contrary, we can deny access to our homes, as we claim to possess our living place (cf. Kant as cited in Derrida, Dufourmantelle, van der Star, & Hofstede, 1998, p. 29).

Hospitality, at least in this dissertation, thus concerns the relationship between two speakers: a host, who is in search of the other, a guest, and vice versa. Striving to encounter 'the other' in the utmost sense of the term, we decided to remain far from contemporaneous hospitality business industry in this first attempt to shed light on hospitality through language usage. Contrary to the study of hospitality as a business – an approach in which hospitality is specifically seen as a strategy to make money – in this dissertation we focus on hospitality as a universal phenomenon. Therefore, the results should also be – and hopefully will also be – relevant to specific hospitality situations. In order to shed light on hospitality in general terms, it may be appropriate to choose specific and rather unexpected hospitality situations. This is reflected in the selection of our data sources. We will examine the use of language in hospitality situations taken from written as well as spoken sources. Note that the selected sources, as well as many of the examples that are used throughout this dissertation to illustrate a certain argument, are in Spanish due to the author's education in Spanish linguistics on the one hand, and to the author's exposure to a professional environment dominated by (Latin American) Spanish language on the other.

More specifically, the first written source that was selected consists of a 20th century Colombian Spanish novel. The place in which the story is situated (Antioquia), the time in which the story takes place (19th century), and the language in which the story is written (Spanish), are remote. The second written source concerns the discovery voyages of Christopher Columbus to what is nowadays known as the Central and South-American coasts. It is a representation of the occurrences as seen through the eyes of the 18th century author Washington Irving. Again, place, time, and scope are far away from contemporaneous hospitality (business) situations. The third – and spoken – source represents the most recent source that was used in this dissertation. It consists of Peninsular Spanish radio phone-in conversations that were held in the course of the dissertation's project. Callers telephonically 'visit' the host of the radio program to address certain issues that they either like or dislike about the program. As such, each radio phone-in represents a micro hospitality situation, and is a metaphor for 'traditional' hospitality (business) situations.

In our attempt to observe how language shapes mundane hospitality situations – or not – we take a pragmalinguistic perspective. Like its etymology (Lat. *pragmata*) suggests, Pragmatics is the study of things DONE in or by speaking (Sbisà &

Turner, 2013, p. 1). It thus considers speech as a purposeful action. The basic question that is addressed in the field of Pragmatics is how it is possible that the whole – the pragmatic message of an utterance – is greater than the sum of its parts – the linguistic forms that are involved to construct the utterance. For example, studying the Chávez-case in (1) from a pragmalinguistic perspective would shed light on the issue of the entire world audience taking the Spanish king's words as an offense rather than as a mere question. Situated at the interface of linguistics and philosophy of language, it is a theory of linguistic communication that includes how to influence people through verbal messages (Huang, 2007, p. 4; Prucha, 1983, p. 35). This is relevant to our study, since speakers, in welcoming and inviting, intend to influence the interlocutor's future actions. They tend to get the interlocutor to come in, to take a seat, to feel at home, and, in doing so, to feel treated hospitably. But how is that last aspect even possible, regarding the fact that one of the basic needs of speakers in communication, whatever part of the world they are coming from, is the need to have freedom of action, to not feel impeded by others, as has already been argued? Then, if the aim is to investigate how language contributes to hospitality, the next step is to define how language is to be seen within the realm of hospitality.

1.4 Human Language as an Instrument of Communication

So far, we have referred to hosts and guests and to speakers and interlocutors as the protagonists of the communication in hospitality situations. In doing so, we mean to refer to a relationship between specifically HUMAN beings. In agreement with this view, in this dissertation, language is seen as a typical human instrument of communication.

With regard to the communication in hospitality situations, various aspects could be relevant, such as the ones related to prosody, and to extralinguistic features such as body language, facial expressions, and eye contact. Although highly relevant, these kinds of aspects are beyond the scope of this dissertation, and are therefore left out of consideration. Instead, we focus on the aspects of human language related to its condition as a means of communication by studying the LINGUISTIC FORMS related to contexts of hospitality situations in a broad sense.

The dissertation's approach to linguistic forms is in line with the Columbia School of Linguistics (CS). CS approaches speech as a phenomenon that shows

similarities with other aspects of human behavior, such as the ability to infer and to associate things from circumstantial evidence, and the preference for doing things as easily as possible, for example by taking shortcuts (cf. Reid, 2018, p. 100).[12] The assumption that prevails in the field of linguistics, however, is that speech is a manifestation of a system governed by mathematical rules for the succession of symbols (cf. Reid, 2018, p. 100). Different from the mainstream perspective, the CS focus on linguistic forms implies a direct relation to meaning, and not to various sub-meanings and/or sub-classes. That is, in a CS analysis, the aim is to formulate a meaning that may account for the distribution of a certain linguistic form (cf. Reid, 2018, p. 97). The central premise of the CS approach is that any linguistic form has one assigned general meaning, allowing different interpretations depending on the context (cf. Reid, 2018, p. 97).[13] This is important, because it affects the methodology, i.e., the selection and classification of the linguistic forms central to this dissertation (see Section 2.3.1.2).

In order to gain a general understanding of the sophisticated nature of human communication, it will be considered how one and the same linguistic form may lead to different interpretations (Diver et al., 2012, p. 53, 446). Important in this regard is that a literal sentence meaning may differ from the speaker's utterance meaning, as has already been illustrated by the Chávez-case in (1) and the horse-rider case in (2). Another example is shown in (6), a dialogue between two roommates. They are both at home when suddenly the doorbell rings. Then, they shout to one another:

(6) —The doorbell is ringing!
—I'm in the bathroom!
—Okay![14]

[12] This is very well illustrated in the photo book *Olifantenpaadjes* 'Desire lines' (lit. Elephant paths) (Van der Burg, 2011). In the Netherlands, every road has been carefully planned. Humans, however, keep searching the shortest path to go from point A to B. And so, shortcuts that veer off the beaten path ('desire lines') are created. We will see in Section 1.4.3 that in communication, humans tend to show the same kind of behavior.

[13] We do not refer to 'meaning' as in a dictionary definition, but in the sense of the invariant semantic content of a signal (cf. Reid, 2018, p. 96). See also Section 1.5.2.

[14] I am indebted to Bob de Jonge for this example, but he claims that, most probably, its origin is in a similar example about a ringing telephone provided by Widdowson (1978, p. 29). In line with (6), Mulder (1993) argues that in the attempt to get the interlocutor to pick up a ringing telephone, the speaker has several options to do so without using an imperative sentence structure, e.g., *suena el teléfono* 'the telephone is ringing' (pp. 189-190).

Although the literal meaning of the sentences uttered between the roommates in (6) only reveals that the doorbell is ringing, and that the person addressed is in the bathroom, these sentences will most certainly be understood as the utterances indicated in (6'):

(6') —Would you mind opening the door?
—I'm sorry but I can't.
—I'll go then.

Clearly, the conveyed information in the roommates-dialogue in (6) is neither a mere observation about the ringing doorbell, nor is it about the addressed person being in the bathroom. The reason for uttering the sentences is a request to open the door, and a subsequent rejection. As such, the acts of communication are performed by the utterance of a sentence, namely, making a request and rejecting it successively (Austin, Urmson, & Sbisà, 1975, p. 6). Hence, it appears that speakers, when uttering a sentence, may not only refer to the literal meaning of the specific sentence, but also convey a pragmatic message (Searle, 1978, p. 208). The pragmatic message of an utterance is expressed by means of speech acts. For example, the first sentence in (6) has a limited literal meaning, but implicates a request. These kinds of implications are called 'speech acts' in Pragmatics; the underlying intention of a linguistic utterance. In Section 1.4.1 we will further elaborate upon speech acts in order to later on show how speech acts are related to hospitality.

1.4.1 Defining speech acts

It has been argued that to speak a language implies to perform speech acts (Searle, 1969, p. 16).[15] Speech acts can be performed using different linguistic forms; compare, for instance, the apparent observation about the ringing doorbell in (6) with the utterance in (7), which we found in a public restroom in New York City:

[15] In this dissertation, the term 'speech act' will refer to the *illocutionary act* (Searle, 1969, p. 24). The illocutionary act determines how the utterance is to be taken and is therefore crucial in understanding the discrepancy between a literal sentence meaning and the speaker's utterance meaning (Hancher, 1979, p. 1). When in the uttering of a sentence an illocutionary act is performed, the utterance counts as a certain kind of move in verbal interaction (Sbisà, 2001, pp. 1792-1793).

(7) Employees must wash hands (New York State Department of Health)

The example of the NYC public restroom in (7) is not an observation but a rule which has a pragmatic implication to readers – especially employees – who fulfill the conditions. The NYC public restroom-case in (7) illustrates how the speaker clearly intends to move the addressee in a certain direction. That is, the speaker attempts to force the addressee to wash hands, which seems to be due to the word 'must', an element that has an "imperative force as part of its meaning" (Searle, 1975, p. 67).

In contrast to the NYC public restroom-case in (7), in which the pragmatic message appears to be quite clear due to the imperative force of 'must', the linguistic forms that constitute the utterances in the roommates-dialogue in (6) constitute not one but rather two speech acts; the *primary illocutionary acts* of requesting and rejecting are performed by means of the *secondary illocutionary acts* of observing and stating respectively (cf. Searle, 1975, p. 61). Thus, the linguistic forms involved suggest a certain speech act (e.g., an observation) but are interpreted as another speech act (e.g., a request). In this case, the difference between the primary and secondary illocutionary act can be explained by the differentiation between performative and constative utterances. The latter class of utterances just report on something, and, as such, may be assessed as either being 'true' or 'false'. The observation that the doorbell is ringing, for example after a long time of not working properly, may be true. With regard to the former class of utterances the speaker intends to influence the interlocutor's behavior. As such, rather than being true or false, performative utterances may be 'happy' or 'unhappy' (Austin et al., 1975, p. 14). In the roommates-dialogue in (6), the performative is assessed as 'unhappy', since the request was not brought into effect (see, for instance, Márquez Reiter and Placencia, 2005, for a summary of speech act theory).

The roommates-dialogue in (6) involves the speech acts of requesting and rejecting, whereas the NYC public restroom-case in (7) implies an order. These examples illustrate how the utterance of a sentence may implicate an action. Moreover, they show that a speaker does not need to utter the words 'I request' or 'I reject' as to indicate that he is actually making a request or rejecting it. Rather than being straightforward, the use of linguistic forms of which the literal meaning differs from its conveyed meaning may serve the same purpose. Indeed, under certain circumstances, being indirect may be a preferable *communicative strategy* (Dreer, 2011, p.

21). For example, speakers can mitigate the message they try to communicate in order to consider the interlocutors' needs related to *face* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61).

1.4.2 Speech acts as face-threatening acts

According to Brown and Levinson (1987), speech acts are potential *face-threatening acts* (p. 60). That is, in the act of communication, speakers may, generally unwillingly, harm their interlocutors. For example, the speaker misidentifies his relation with the interlocutor when a proper name is used where a formal address term is expected, or vice versa. To establish social relationships, a counterpoise is needed that takes shape in terms of politeness. Politeness Theory is based on this idea of linguistic forms affecting a speaker's *face* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61) – that is, the public self-image all speakers are thought to have, and from which two basic needs follow in communication. On the one hand, it is argued that speakers need to feel appreciated by others. This desire has been coined as *positive face* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). The use of polite address terms, for instance, may enhance a speaker's positive face. On the other hand, speakers supposedly want their actions to be unimpeded by others. This desire has been defined as *negative face* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). Speakers may choose one or another verb form to redress the threat to the interlocutor's negative face, for instance, by asking, instead of ordering, someone to open the door. Most importantly, the social necessity to attend to both positive and negative face is considered to be a universal phenomenon in human communication. If face is a common notion that can be lost and enhanced (*mutual vulnerability of face*; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61), speakers will generally cooperate in order to maintain face. Therefore, they try to avoid speech acts that imply a possible threat to one or both faces.

With regard to the roommates-dialogue in (6), to make a request is a negative face-threatening act, since the speaker clearly imposes his will on the interlocutor. In addition, to reject a request may constitute a positive face-threatening act, since the need of the speaker who makes the request is openly ignored. Now, the speakers in the roommates-dialogue in (6) are confronted with two opposing tensions. The first will be the speaker's need to ask the person addressed a favor. In this case, the speaker wants the interlocutor to open the door. The second will be not to offend the person addressed. The speaker needs the interlocutor to open the door, without giving him a feeling of being constrained. In return, for obvious reasons, the person addressed

needs to decline the request. In addition, he preferably has to do so without being impolite.

The roommates-dialogue in (6) contains a commonly used strategy to deal with these tensions, namely, *conventional indirectness* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 132). The literal meaning of the sentences differs from the speaker's utterance meaning, but the latter meaning is considered to be contextually unambiguous. And so, the speakers distance themselves from the speech acts of requesting and rejecting by use of linguistic forms that literally only report on the ringing doorbell and on the interlocutor being in the bathroom. These forms apparently do not constitute a threat to either of the faces. As a result, the purpose of communication is achieved with a minimum threat of 'losing face'. Generally, the relationship between roommates is of such a nature that attending to the needs related to face is not as important. However, in hospitality situations, things may well be different; yet we will see in Section 2.2.2 that also these kinds of situations can show unexpected linguistic forms.

In comparison to the roommates-dialogue in (6), the literal meaning of the linguistic forms in the roommates-dialogue in (6') is more clearly related to the pragmatic conveyed message. Still, it contains formulas to reduce the threats to both faces. The request in (6') is in fact only a question, as opposed to the imperative mood used in (8):

(8) Open the door!

The example in (8) constitutes an order, and, as such, is more of an overt threat to the negative face of the interlocutor. Again, to a large extent, the circumstances determine the interpretation of conveyed information. In comparison to the utterances in the roommates-dialogues in (6) and (6'), an imperative utterance may be a highly negative face-threatening act at first sight. However, in cases of great urgency, it is a perfectly understandable utterance that will probably not offend anyone (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 96). Indeed, when bringing in a victim of a car crash, the non-urgent 'Would you mind opening the door?', could possibly constitute a threat to the victim's life. In Section 1.4.3 we will discuss several aspects that contribute to the interpretation of indirect messages in order to show how interlocutors can understand and interpret sentences like 'the doorbell is ringing' as a request to open the door.

1.4.3 On the interpretation of indirect messages

Throughout this chapter, the Chávez-case in (1), the horse rider-case in (2), and the roommates-dialogue in (6) served as examples of indirect speech acts, whereas the NYC public restroom-case in (7) illustrated a more overt attempt to influence the future actions of the addressee. In any case, these examples have shown that language influences behavior. In this regard, words are not only words, but provoke a future action on behalf of the speaker or the interlocutor or even both. With regard to the speech act of inviting, for example, the speaker intends to get the interlocutor to attend a certain event, and in doing so, implicitly commits himself to properly receiving the interlocutor. Accordingly, by the performance of a specific speech act, positive and/or negative face of one or both of the speakers is put at stake. In order to compensate for the threat to either of the faces, it has been argued that politeness is the principal motivation for the use of indirectness strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 135; Grice, 1975, p. 47; Searle, 1975, p. 64).

Indirectness is a common linguistic human behavior, not only within the domestic domain, but also within the commercial sector, which is illustrated by the following examples. Both (9) and (10) were found as written signs in a fruit market stall in Madrid:

(9) *Hay agua*[16] 'There is water' (translation ours)

(10) *Si quieres cambio para el parking compra fruta* 'If you want change for the parking lot, buy fruit' (translation ours)

Given the fact that in Madrid temperatures commonly rise very high in summer, the pragmatic message conveyed by the example of water in (9) probably is something similar to 'You may be thirsty, so we have water that you can buy', although the literal meaning of the utterance only indicates that there is water. As such, the water-phrase in (9) may not only be taken as a mere statement about the presence of water, but also as an offer, a response to the market visitor's eventual need for water. It illustrates that speakers may say one thing, and, in addition, mean something more (Searle, 1978, p. 208). In other cases, speakers say something but mean something different (Searle,

[16] I am indebted to Almudena González Gutiérrez de León for these examples.

1978, p. 207), as is probably the case in (10). Apparently, the owners of the market stall are frequently asked for change for the parking lot, which they are not willing to give for free. Instead of openly saying so, in the example of fruit for coins in (10), the imperative mood is used to give a hint to buy fruit in exchange for coins.

In indirect speech acts, the primary illocutionary act (e.g., an offer) is performed by means of a secondary illocutionary act (e.g., a statement; Searle, 1975, pp. 60-62). Clearly, the difficulty pertaining to speech acts in general, and to indirect speech acts in particular, is that they are not objectively verifiable categories, as has been argued earlier. Remarkably, this means that the water-phrase in (9) does not comprise any offer at first sight, nor does the fruit for coins-case in (10) openly express reluctance to give change for the parking lot. Similarly, the literal meaning of the previously introduced utterance about the ringing doorbell in (6) does not entail any sort of request, yet in some circumstances it is likely to be intended and interpreted as a request to open the door. However, it is not unlikely that a speaker might make a request, but fails to do so because his interlocutor jumps to a wrong conclusion, taking it as a mere observation, for example in the roommates-dialogue in (6) after a long time of the doorbell not working properly. Therefore, the intention of the speaker will only be achieved when the interlocutor understands that, under certain conditions, the utterance counts as a request (cf. Austin et al., 1975, p. 8; Searle, 1969, p. 49).

Obviously, the water-phrase in (9) and the fruit for coins-case in (10) are written signs, and therefore, it is difficult to define whether and to what extent visitors to the fruit market stall are able to derive the primary from the secondary illocutionary act. Yet, with regard to the roommates-dialogue in (6), we can posit that the request is successfully brought off, although it is not responded to with compliance. Thus, while the interlocutor is indeed able to derive the primary illocutionary act of requesting from the secondary illocutionary act of performing a statement, he is not able, for obvious reasons, to actually grant it.

The success of the performance of a particular speech act partly depends on the speaker's ability to estimate how much knowledge the interlocutor already has about the intended message. Based on this estimation, the speaker selects more or fewer hints in order to successfully transmit the message. Moreover, the interlocutor's ability to make a guess at the intended message contributes to the success of the performance of a speech act (Diver et al., 2012, p. 479). Several characteristics, which

are thought to be due to certain change that has occurred with the process of evolution of the human being, allow the speaker to judge the interlocutor's previous knowledge, and the interlocutor to infer the intended message. These are *human physiology* and *intelligence*, and *economy of effort* (Diver et al., 2012, p. 446). We will focus only on those aspects relevant for this study.

Humans have a highly-developed level of intelligence. This allows them to communicate very complex messages. On the other hand, humans avoid a greater use of precision than strictly necessary to successfully fulfill a task. They prefer to make as little effort as possible to communicate a message as clearly as possible. The high level of intelligence allows humans to compensate for imprecise parts of the message expressed. As a result of these characteristics, and the limited time speakers have to react to the conversational interactions, it is necessary to jump to conclusions in order not to interrupt or hinder smooth conversation. In the case rendered in the roommates-dialogue in (6), this means that the interlocutor is able to conclude, in a split second, that not a mere observation about the ringing doorbell (viz., the secondary illocutionary act) but a request to open the door (viz., the primary illocutionary act) is being made. The derivation of a primary from a secondary illocutionary act basically occurs on facts about the conversation, together with the principles of conversational cooperation (cf. Grice, 1991, pp. 26-27), and factual background information (Searle, 1975, p. 74).[17] With regard to the roommates-dialogue in (6), this means that the interlocutor hears the observation about the ringing doorbell and assumes that the utterance must have some purpose. Since the aim is certainly not just making an observation on the ringing doorbell (indeed, he can hear it himself), and as he simultaneously realizes that they are both at home, he comes to the final conclusion that a request to open the door is being made.

Interlocutors will simply understand indirect speech acts, such as the utterance in (6), as, for example, a request to open the door. Put in other words, they "jump to conclusions" (Contini-Morava, 1995, p. 17) on a minimum of information,

[17] See Searle (1975, pp. 73-74) for an example of the derivation of the primary from the secondary illocutionary act, and the steps that are thought to be necessary in this regard. Furthermore, Grice (1991) defined the Cooperative Principle as follows: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged." (p. 26). Prescribing that speakers need to cooperate in order to mutually understand each other, it is a basic principle for achieving effective communication in daily life. It consists of four categories, which subsequently include several so-called 'maxims' (see also Section 1.5.1).

an ability that has been related to human intelligence, as has been discussed above. Yet, it remains unclear what element(s), linguistic or extralinguistic, allow(s) interlocutors to jump to a conclusion in the first place.[18] In Section 1.5.4, we will present our hypothesis concerning the issue of how language contributes to specifically the interpretation of hospitality. But first, we will show where hospitality meets language, and ask ourselves how hospitality is to be defined in linguistic terms.

1.5 Where Language meets Hospitality

So far, various perspectives on hospitality, ranging from hospitality as a business to hospitality as a universal phenomenon, have been discussed. In addition, language has been described as a typical human instrument of communication. As such, hospitality and language can both be seen as a social and cultural phenomenon: the former in the sense that a host needs to overcome his initial aversion to the stranger, and needs to respect him as being different (Welten, 2013, pp. 156-158), and the latter in the sense that the use of linguistic forms related to politeness is a strategy to deal with a certain aggression of speakers (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 1).

Speakers use linguistic strategies related to politeness in order to establish social relationships, such as between hosts and guests. We have argued, however, that the speech acts performed in these social relationships are not objectively verifiable categories (e.g., it is, to some extent, uncertain whether an interrogative utterance is just a question or a request). Furthermore, the linguistic forms that constitute these acts are most certainly objectively verifiable, yet the meaning of these forms is no more than a hint that is offered by the speaker in the attempt to get the message across (Diver et al., 2012, p. 479). It is basically based on these hints that the

[18] Mulder (1998) provides a linguistic model of the aspects that indicate the illocutionary force of a directive speech act, that is to say, all elements that contribute to the expression of the directive nature of a speech act (p. 115). One of the aspects that is especially relevant to our study to linguistic expressions of hospitality is 'context'. According to Mulder (1998, p. 117), the context of an utterance includes several extralinguistic factors of which the SITUATION in which an utterance is realized, and the SOCIAL RELATIONSHIP between the speakers seem to be most relevant to this dissertation. Accordingly, these factors are taken into consideration in the quantitative analysis of Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3.1.2). Note that other aspects in this model that may be relevant to the interpretation of a directive speech act as an act of hospitality are not taken into account in this dissertation (e.g., intonation as the primary prosodic indicator; cf. Mulder, 1998, p. 121). We aim to include these aspects in a future study (see also Section 5.4).

interlocutor needs to infer the intended message. Speech acts, the pragmatic message that is expressed by means of speech acts, and the meaning of the linguistic forms that are involved to construct these acts are the protagonists of this dissertation. In our attempt to define hospitality in linguistic terms, the question posed now is: What is hospitality, a speech act, a meaning, or a message?

1.5.1 Is hospitality a speech act?

We have seen that speakers, when uttering a sentence, may not only refer to the literal meaning of the specific sentence, but moreover convey a pragmatic message (Searle, 1978, p. 208); the pragmatic message of an utterance is expressed by means of speech acts. Consequently, we defined the term 'speech act' as the underlying intention of a linguistic utterance. Indeed, several speech acts are typically performed in hospitality situations, such as the acts of inviting, welcoming and receiving (cf. Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000, pp. 133-134). Furthermore, politeness plays a role in the social relationship between speakers and interlocutors, such as the one between hosts and guests. Yet, this does not reveal the core of hospitality. We therefore ask ourselves whether hospitality is a speech act, that is, whether it can have an illocutionary force as part of its meaning. The answer to this question seems to be 'no'.

Although the acts of hospitality may take shape by language, hospitality is not an utterance that 'does' something. We can test this by using a characteristic of performative utterances, namely the possibility to introduce a first person singular pronoun followed by a verb conjugation in present indicative mood; compare (11) and (12):

(11) I invite you to come in

(12) I am trying to be hospitable

Whereas (11) is a coherent sentence expressing that the speaker invites the interlocutor to come in, it is not very likely that speakers would utter (12); being a rather redundant utterance, it seems to violate one or more of the maxims underlying the Cooperative Principle, such as "do not make your contribution more informative than is required" and "be perspicuous" (Grice, 1991, pp. 26-27; see Section 1.4.3). We conclude, so far, that hospitality is not an action, and thus, that hospitality is not a

speech act. Obviously, it seems that there is some kind of interpretation related to hospitality, thus meaning must be involved in some manner.

1.5.2 Is hospitality a meaning?

If hospitality is not a speech act, is it then, maybe, a meaning? In order to answer this question, we need to take a step back and consider the definition of meaning. Importantly, we do not refer to meaning in the sense of a dictionary definition, yet allude to the invariant pairing of a *signifiant* 'signifier' and a *signifié* 'signified' (De Saussure, Baskin, Meisel, & Saussy, 2011, p. 67). The signifier has been defined as signal and the signified as *meaning*. Meaning in this sense is, thus, the invariant semantic content of a signal (Diver et al., 2012, p. 48, 460). Moreover, the number of meanings in a given language is limited, because there is only a restricted number of signals available in any individual language (Diver et al., 2012, p. 48). Since hospitality is not a linguistic structure used in hospitality situations (cf. the example in (12)), it has to be inferred from the context. So, hospitality cannot be seen as a linguistic meaning in the sense of the other forms used in the context.

Bearing in mind these insights, we consider, once again, the examples that were presented in the opening of this chapter, namely the Chávez-case in (1) and the horse rider-case in (2). Both examples consist of an interrogative sentence structure with a negation, literally indicating a question. Yet, the Chávez-case in (1) is interpreted as an insult, and, as such, as a rather hostile act, whereas the horse rider-case in (2) is interpreted as an invitation, as a gesture of hospitality. The comparison suggests that there is no direct relationship between the meaning of a linguistic form and the concept of hospitality. In other words, we cannot state that certain linguistic signs (viz., a combination of signal and meaning) represent the signified concept, or have the meaning of, hospitality. Consequently, we conclude that hospitality is, linguistically speaking, not a meaning. Since an infinite number of messages can be produced and inferred based on a limited number of meanings (Diver et al., 2012, p. 53), the next question is whether hospitality is a message.

1.5.3 Is hospitality a message?

So far, we have argued that hospitality is neither a speech act nor a meaning. The last inquiry considers the question whether hospitality possibly is a message. The term 'message' has been defined as the idea a speaker communicates with reference to the

context (Diver et al., 2012, p. 48). Messages are communicated with the help of meanings (Reid, 2018, p. 96). As opposed to abstract meanings, messages are interpreted or inferred. As such, an infinite number of messages can be produced and inferred (Diver et al., 2012, p. 53). Problematically, messages of hospitality, if something of the like exists, cannot be directly delivered. Speakers can invite someone in an attempt to be hospitable; they can even use a performative utterance in order to stress that they are actually inviting, and not, for instance, ordering (see the example in (11)). Yet, everything else is interpretation. Even the most direct reference to hospitality we have been able to think of has apparently not much to do with a message of hospitality, see (13):

(13) Be my guest

In (13), the word 'guest' is a linguistic sign that represents the signified concept of a hospitality relationship. Taking into account the conjugation of the verb in imperative mood, the example of the guest in (13) literally indicates an order to be someone's guest. The pragmatic message it conveys, however, is clearly not an order. It is not even an invitation to be someone's guest, yet an encouragement to someone to take action. That is, the guest-phrase in (13) is commonly used as a phrase implying 'do as you like'. This example shows, once more, that there is not necessarily a one-to-one relationship between speech acts and the meaning of the linguistic forms that are involved.[19] In a similar vein, it notably shows that the pragmatic message that is expressed by means of speech acts is only indirectly related to the act. As such, stating that hospitality is a message remains problematic to some extent. At least, hospitality is not a direct message, as it were a linguistic category by analogy with, for example, the category of direct as opposed to indirect speech acts. If hospitality is apparently not a speech act, nor a meaning, nor a message, then how do we approach hospitality?

1.5.4 The dissertation's approach to hospitality

On the one hand, we have argued that hospitality has no illocutionary force as part of its meaning, on the basis of which we concluded that hospitality is not a speech act.

[19] In a similar vein, Mulder (1993, p. 199) argues that it is not possible to relate certain linguistic forms to construct either direct or indirect speech acts; even the imperative mood can be used indirectly, as in (13), to permit the interlocutor to do whatever he thinks is convenient.

On the other hand, it may be true that several speech acts are typically performed in hospitality situations, such as the acts of inviting, welcoming and receiving. The role of inviting, however, remains only implicit. Furthermore, it has been shown that hospitality is not a meaning, as there is apparently no direct relationship between the meaning of linguistic forms and the concept of hospitality. Finally, we have stated that hospitality is not a direct message, since the pragmatic message that is expressed by means of speech acts is only indirectly related to the act. Nevertheless, it is known that humans are able to make inferences and associations (Reid, 2018, p. 100), and as such, to interpret speech acts. It remains unclear, however, how interpretation itself takes shape.

The multiple examples that were introduced in this chapter, from the Chávez-case in (1) to the guest-phrase in (13), show that linguistic structures as defined by grammars have no more than an indirect relation with the speech act it supposes to convey. In the case of speech acts implying a sense of hospitality, this indirect relation seems to be one of the crucial aspects of it. In this dissertation, we approach hospitality as a STRATEGY (implying that it cannot be taken as a speech act, nor as a meaning, nor as a message) that acts as the catalyst between speech act, linguistic form, and the intended communicative message. This leads to the following hypothesis:

> HYPOTHESIS: hospitality is to be seen as a speaker's strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

In this dissertation, we aim to find support for this hypothesis in order to finally define hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective in Section 5.3. Because hospitality appears to be indirectly manifested, we can only take a look at the linguistic forms – the only observable indications that speakers can account for, as has been argued in Section 1.1 – that constitute speech acts in hospitality situations. This is what we propose: we will look for hospitality through an analysis of the linguistic forms that are used in the communication between hosts and guests in order to understand how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. To this end, we will analyze a wide variety of data sources, including a novel, a biography, and radio phone-in conversations. This enables us to tap into a wider spectrum of

linguistic forms that are related to hospitality, and as such, enriches the proposed definition of hospitality provided in this dissertation.

1.6 Dissertation Overview

The empirical part of this dissertation consists of three chapters (Chapters 2 to 4). Its aim is to provide evidence for the proposed hypothesis of hospitality based on the linguistic analyses of diverse contexts and situations that are provided in these chapters.

In CHAPTER 2, we explore language usage in hospitality situations. To this end, we analyze a corpus of utterances taken from a Colombian Spanish novel (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974)) in two steps. In the first step, two of the most salient dialogues in hospitality situations are qualitatively analyzed to acquire an initial impression of which language is used in hospitality situations in the novel. The linguistic forms that constitute the speech acts within this kind of situations, as well as the meanings of the forms and the circumstances within which the speech acts are performed, are identified. Departing from existing work on speech acts (Austin et al., 1975; Searle, 1969, 1975, 1978, 1979), and complementing this with theoretical insights from politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), we derive two particular components that are used in hospitality situations, since they affect an interlocutor's positive and negative face. In the second step, we explore the entire corpus to obtain a complete overview of the linguistic forms used in hospitality situations in the novel.

While Chapter 2 aims to provide an empirical overview of the linguistic forms used in hospitality situations, CHAPTER 3 aims to give a theoretical explanation of the patterns found in Chapter 2. To this end, we specifically focus on the problematic relationship between the speech acts of ordering and inviting and the imperative mood. The imperative mood is iconically related to orders, but is also used to perform invitations. We argue that, although both acts are clearly different, this difference has not been made clear to date. On the contrary: both acts are categorized as directive speech acts, and, as such, are an intrusion in the behavior of the interlocutor. We illustrate the apparent interchangeability of orders and invitations with an extract taken from the description of the discovery voyages of Christopher Columbus (Irving & MacElroy, 1981). Furthermore, to address this issue, we analyze the meaning of 'to order' and 'to invite' (Wierzbicka, 1987) using a qualitative approach.

Subsequently, in CHAPTER 4 we seek to find empirical support for our hypothesis related to hospitality. To this end, we analyze a corpus of conversations between host and callers from a Peninsular Spanish radio show. We argue that callers are the beneficiary in the opening, whereas the host is the beneficiary in the closing of the conversations. Moreover, we hypothesize that this shift in beneficiary is reflected in the use of different linguistic strategies applied by the host. Thus, similar to Chapter 2 we use corpus analyses. To this end, we first qualitatively analyze one radio phone-in conversation that is considered as typical for the conversations in the entire corpus. This enables us to identify the different parts of the conversation, and to reveal the common linguistic strategies used in each part. Second, we statistically test our hypotheses using the entire corpus.

Finally, in CHAPTER 5 we examine our research findings presented in Chapters 2 to 4 in conjunction in order to show how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. In doing so, it allows us to establish our definition of hospitality, provided that it is studied from a pragmalinguistic perspective. We also reflect on the theoretical and practical implications of this dissertation. Furthermore, we identify the main strengths and weaknesses of our investigation and provide suggestions for how future research may build upon our findings.

Chapter 2

Observing language usage in hospitality situations

This chapter is partly based on:

Schreurs, L. (2015). Cortesía y hospitalidad: Estrategias en español [Politeness and hospitality: Strategies in Spanish]. In A. Escofet, K. Jauregi, B. de Jonge, P. Lorente, & L. Vangehuchten (Eds.), *El español lengua de la comunicación profesional. Artículos seleccionados del V Congreso Internacional de Español para Fines Específicos* [Spanish in professional communication. Selected articles of the V International Conference on Spanish for Specific Purposes] (pp. 38-47). Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, Secretaría General Técnica.

Schreurs, L. (2017). Observing hospitality speech patterns. In C. Lashley (Ed.), *The Routledge handbook of Hospitality Studies* (pp. 169-179). London, England: Routledge.

Abstract

In this chapter, we seek to observe language usage in hospitality situations. To this end, we created a corpus of 1473 utterances taken from a Colombian Spanish novel and analyzed this in two steps. In Step 1, two of the most salient dialogues in hospitality situations are analyzed to acquire an initial impression of the language used in hospitality situations in the novel. The linguistic forms that constitute these acts as well as the meanings of the forms and the circumstances within which the speech acts were performed, were identified using a qualitative approach. It appears that the speech acts of greeting and inviting are particularly relevant to hospitality situations. Moreover, the linguistic forms that are used in the hospitality situations may be seen as varying from very polite to apparently extremely impolite. It is illustrated that different modes of address (*T* and *V*) are used in hospitality situations, since they affect an interlocutor's positive face. Likewise, different types of verb moods seem to be relevant to hospitality situations, as they clearly influence the negative face of speakers. Furthermore, whether linguistic forms enhance or threaten the interlocutor's positive and negative face is determined by contextual factors, such as the type of social relationship between the speakers and the communicative situation in which they are used. The qualitative analysis once again illustrates the intangibility of hospitality: both friendly and polite, and apparently hostile and impolite language usages contribute to the interpretation of hospitality. In Step 2 we explore the entire corpus to obtain a complete overview of the linguistic forms used in hospitality situations in the novel. We assume that hospitality situations can be defined as interactions between non-relatives that are non-conflictive in nature. Based on this assumption, we find that in hospitality situations, *V* is more likely to be used than *T*, whereas in non-hospitality situations, *T* is more likely to be used than *V*. In contrast, hospitality situations do not necessarily differ from non-hospitality situations in the use of verb moods. Together, these findings serve to illustrate how the use of language may shape hospitality experiences. They suggest that hospitality may be related to different linguistic systems interacting with the context. The context seems to be crucial for an interlocutor in order to understand the pragmatic message of an utterance. Although hospitality and language seem to be inextricably entwined, it remains difficult to relate a specific verb mood to hospitality situations.

2.1 Make yourself at Home

In Spanish various expressions are commonly used to welcome guests. A recurring element in these expressions is the speaker offering his house to the interlocutor. Upon entering the host's home for the first time, for instance, guests are commonly told that they are being at home, as in (1):

(1) *Estás en tu casa* 'You are at home'

When leaving, the utterance in (2) is an invitation to stay at the host's place on a next occasion:

(2) *No olvides que aquí tienes tu casa* 'Do not forget that here is your home'

Also, by literally offering their home, hosts express friendship and support to their guests, as is the case in (3):

(3) *Mi casa es tu casa* 'My house is your house'

In Mexico, speakers may even politely talk about *tu casa* 'your home' instead of *mi casa* 'my home', when referring to their own home. A beverage commercial from 2008 shows the potential confusion that this can cause for foreigners. The German Günther is invited by one of his Mexican colleagues to a party, and is told:

(4) *Este sábado, fiesta en tu casa* 'This Saturday, party at your place'

Being unaware of the Mexican habit to change the possessive pronoun preceding *casa* in second person as a gesture of politeness, we see Günther and his family spending the whole Saturday preparing the party. When the guests are supposed to arrive nobody shows up, of course. In the next shot, we see the Mexicans having a nice party

at the colleague's place, wondering why Günther would not have come (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ALP4RKOCpQ).[20]

The difference between a literal sentence meaning and a speaker's utterance meaning, as in the examples above, may, although hilarious, be confusing in intercultural hospitality situations. In most occasions, these kinds of utterances are formalities, whether sincere or not, to express 'Make yourself at home'. When offers or invitations are recognized as potentially insincere, the obligation to accept them disappears. In general, it is assumed that the closer the interlocutors, the greater the magnitude of offers and the obligation to accept them (Fitch, 1998, p. 75). In line with these examples, it has been argued that verbal social interactions have greatly influenced hospitality experiences (Robinson & Lynch, 2007a, p. 238). However, from a linguistic perspective, the study of hospitality has surprisingly been limited to date (Robinson & Lynch, 2007b, p. 142).

As a preliminary study, in this chapter, the use of language in hospitality situations will be observed. To this purpose, a novel will be analysed, since it has been argued that "literature tends to slight hospitality at its best" (Heffernan, 2014, p. 333; see also Lashley, Lynch, and Morrison, 2007, for a discussion of this issue). In literature, the plot is commonly motivated by conflict and love. As the example in (20) below will show, on the one hand, hostility and hospitality are related notions (Heffernan, 2014, p. 2). On the other hand, there also seems to be a kinship between love and hospitality. To love someone implies to receive the other unconditionally. However, the dark side of both receiving a guest and taking a lover is that one risks betrayal (Heffernan, 2014, p. 333). This is exactly what happens to the protagonist of the novel under analysis when she makes a lover of her guest.

2.1.1 Modes of address

As a starting point of our analysis, we distinguish between two modes of address that are used to express hospitality: an informal mode of address indicated with symbol *T*, derived from Latin *tu*, and a formal mode of address referred to as *V*, derived from Latin *vos* (Brown & Gilman, 1968, pp. 253-254). The use of *V* as a polite form

[20] According to Brown and Levinson (1987, pp. 118-119) switching into the interlocutor's point of view is a basic politeness phenomenon.

supposedly dates back to the decline of the Roman Empire, when the Empire was divided into two parts, with a separate emperor for each part. At that time, *T* was the singular pronoun and *V* the plural pronoun of address. However, the use of *V* as singular pronoun gained ground, step by step, to refer to both emperors, also in situations in which only one of them was being addressed. Later, the use of *V* as a singular pronoun was extended to other superiors (Carricaburo, 1997, p. 11; for a complete overview of *T* and *V* forms of address in Spanish, see, for example, De Jonge & Nieuwenhuijsen, 2009, 2012; Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999; Hummel, Kluge, & Vázquez Laslop (Eds.), 2010).

In contrast to contemporary English, which has only preserved 'you' in colloquial speech, Spanish maintained the system with two singular pronouns of address to express second-person reference. Initially, the distinction began with *tú* and *vos*, and later, *vos* gave way to *usted* (Brown & Gilman, 1968, pp. 253-254). The informal (or familiar) mode of address, with corresponding subject pronoun *tú* 'you', is expressed by second person singular verb conjugations. The formal (or polite) mode of address, with corresponding subject pronoun *usted* 'you', takes shape by third person singular verb conjugations. In Spanish, the inflection of the verb already indicates the subject, which makes the use of an explicit personal pronoun superfluous (cf. Butt & Benjamin, 2000, Section 11.2; Haverkate, 2002, p. 13). As a result, the subject pronoun is commonly dropped, as in (5):

(5) *ø hablo* 'I speak'

Only in certain cases, such as to emphasize the subject, subject pronouns are used (Haverkate, 2002, p. 13), which is illustrated by the example in (6):

(6) *Yo hablo, tú escuchas* 'I speak, YOU listen'

Therefore, verb endings, and not merely subject pronouns, were taken into account in relation to *T* and *V* forms in this study.[21]

[21] An extensive bibliography on pro-drop and its underlying strategies is available (e.g., Bosque, 1989; Cabredo-Hofherr, 2006; Fernández Soriano, 1999; Frascarelli, 2007; Hughson, 2009; Lu, 1997; Luján, 1999; Otheguy & Zentella, 2012; Posio, 2011).

2.1.1.1 Power and solidarity interacting with T and V forms

If a distinction is made between a familiar (*T*) and a polite form (*V*), each individual form likely has its own restricted use. Brown and Gilman (1968) explained the semantic content of *T* and *V* forms as interacting with two factors, namely, *power* and *solidarity* (p. 252).[22] According to these authors, in an asymmetric social relationship, a person has POWER over another person in the sense that he is able to control the behavior of the other. A difference between the speakers with regard to age, gender and socio-economic position generally determines a power relation (Haverkate, 2002, p. 14). Furthermore, power is considered to be nonreciprocal (viz., both persons do not have power in the same field of behavior; cf. Brown & Gilman, 1968, p. 254). In interaction, this means that the highest ranked speaker says *T* but receives (or at least expects to receive) *V* from the interlocutor. In contrast, in a symmetric social relationship, not power but SOLIDARITY characterizes the relationship between the speakers. Consequently, in these kinds of social relationships the use of modes of address is reciprocal (Brown & Gilman, 1968, p. 257). In interaction, this means that speakers say and receive either *T* or *V*.

Whereas power determines a non-reciprocal social relationship in which the highest ranked speaker says *T* and receives *V*, solidarity determines a reciprocal social relationship that generally results in the use of a mutual *T* or *V* between the speakers. Table 2.1 visualizes the exchange of *T* and *V* forms interacting with power and solidarity between the speakers and gives an example of a social relationship in which these forms may be used.

[22] We are aware of the fact that over half a century later, the dual system as presented by Brown and Gilman (1968) has been criticized as well as extended with other factors (e.g., Clyne, Kretzenbacher, Norryby, & Warren, 2003; Cook, 2014; Kendall, 1981; Nanbakhsh, 2012). Yet, for the purpose of this dissertation, the general distinction between two forms of address interacting with two factors seems to be sufficient to explain the basic functioning of modes of address.

Table 2.1 Power and Solidarity interacting with *T* and *V* Forms

Factor	Mode of address	Social relationship
Power	→ T	Officer → Soldier
	→ V	Soldier → Officer
Solidarity	↔ T	↔ Relatives
	↔ V	↔ Strangers

Table 2.1 shows that using *T* and *V* forms is not something that happens randomly. Speakers carefully – although in many cases unconsciously – choose one form over another, in agreement with the social relationship and the circumstances of the speech act. For example, whereas officers may address soldiers using *T*, they may expect to be addressed by the soldiers with *V* as in this relationship the officer is the powerful interactant (Brown & Gilman, 1968, pp. 257-259; Haverkate, 2002, p. 14).[23] Moreover, since *T* was established as the informal form and *V* as the formal form, the use of *T* is more probable when solidarity increases (such as in the intimate social relationship between relatives, e.g., siblings), and *V* when solidarity decreases (such as in the distant social relationship between strangers, e.g., customer and waiter; Brown & Gilman, 1968, p. 259). This means that *T* is commonly related to the expression of intimacy, while *V* is generally seen as expressing social distance (Haverkate, 2002, p. 14). It is well known, however, that within the Spanish-speaking world, the use of *T* and *V* forms differs between the different parts, not only between countries, but also, for example, between cities and rural areas (Fontanella de Weinberg, 1999, p. 1416).

The reciprocal solidarity semantic has gained supremacy over the power semantic in the 19th century (Brown & Gilman, 1968, p. 258). Within a system in which the solidarity dimension prevails, *T* and *V* forms supposedly have one attributed general meaning (cf. 'intimacy' for *T* and 'social distance' for *V*), which correlates them, to a certain extent, to a specific type of social relationship (cf. *T* between relatives and *V* between strangers; Brown & Gilman, 1968, p. 259). Yet, the

[23] We use these terms in analogy to the military ranks of Brown and Gilman (1968, p. 259), although there possibly are cultural differences that may differ from this model. For example, in the Netherlands in the 1970s, within the academic world the use of *T* arose due to the wave of democratization (see, for example, Vermaas (2004) for an overview of forms of address in the Netherlands). With regard to hierarchical organizations such as the army, these kinds of cultural differences seem to be non-existent.

interpretation of the forms may vary according to the communicative situation in which they are used. That is, speakers of a language with a *T*/*V* system may encode temporal emotional attitudes, such as anger in conflictive situations, by intentionally switching from *V* to *T*, or vice versa (Brown & Gilman, 1968, pp. 272-273; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 110). For example, the Chávez-case presented in Section 1.1 illustrated that king Juan Carlos I of Spain addressed the late Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez using a second person singular verb conjugation, the informal form of the verb. Here, *T* is intentionally chosen over *V* to put Chávez in his place. As such, it does obviously not express intimacy but indicates contempt.

In general, speakers may not only intentionally but also accidentally misidentify the interlocutor. For example, when addressing the interlocutor with *T* where *V* is expected, the speaker is implying that the social distance between them is smaller than felt by the interlocutor. Thus, in contrast to speakers of English, speakers of Spanish run a risk in the conjugation of a verb in one or the other of the two identified choices. As such, *T* and *V* identifications are a possible threat to the interlocutor's *positive* face (i.e., the desire to feel appreciated by others; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61).

2.1.2 Verb moods

Not only is hospitality linguistically manifested in the use of different modes of address, it also relates to the use of different verb moods. It has been argued earlier that, in daily life, the acts that are typically performed in hospitality situations, such as invitations, take shape in language (see Section 1.2.2, note 6). The invitation has been classified under the category of directive speech acts, which imply an attempt by the speaker to influence the behavior of the interlocutor (Searle, 1979, pp. 13-14; see Section 3.3 for an analysis of the invitation as a directive speech act). For example, a speaker performing an invitation intends to get the interlocutor to come to a place or an event. However, if the interlocutor does not want to accept the invitation, the speaker may 'harm' his interlocutor's negative face by performing the invitation (i.e., the interlocutor may feel obliged to accept the invitation). Therefore, it is assumed that speakers will cautiously choose one verb mood over another in order to mitigate (or not) the face threatening effect of directive speech acts (see Section 1.4.2 for a description of speech acts as face-threatening acts).

Spanish grammars distinguish between three modal categories of the verb, namely, the indicative mood, the subjunctive mood, and the imperative mood (Haverkate, 2002, p. 3). With regard to research into these verb moods, five levels of analysis are distinguished. In this dissertation, the focus will be on the *pragmatic level*, which concerns the illocutionary functions of the different verb moods (cf. Haverkate, 2002, p. 5).[24] That is, the indicative mood is generally related to ASSERTIVE sentences, the subjunctive mood characterizes OPTATIVE sentences to express a wish or desire, and the imperative mood is typically related to DIRECTIVE sentences (Haverkate, 2002, pp. 7-8). As an illustration, consider the verb conjugations in (7) to (9) respectively:

(7) T*e doy [IND] la bienvenida* 'I bid you welcome' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 29)

(8) *Que aproveche [SUBJ]* 'Enjoy your meal' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 41)

(9) *Ven [IMPERAT] aquí* 'Come here' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 14)

The indicative mood in (7) implies that the speaker COMMITS HIMSELF to cordially receive the interlocutor. In (8), the subjunctive mood is used in a ritual formula expressing the WISH that someone enjoys his meal. Finally, (9) shows that the imperative mood is used to express ORDERS (Haverkate, 2002, p. 7). In other words, speakers supposedly use the different verb moods for different communicative purposes (Dreer, 2011, p. 21; Haverkate, 2002, p. 11).[25] In what follows, we will discuss these purposes per verb mood, starting with the indicative mood.

2.1.2.1 Indicative mood

In the opposition indicative mood versus subjunctive and imperative mood, the former is considered to be the unmarked member, whereas the latter two are the marked members of the group (Haverkate, 2002, p. 11). Being the neutral form of the

[24] Besides the pragmatic level, Haverkate (2002, p. 3) distinguishes between the phonetic, the morphological, the syntactic and the semantic level.

[25] Dreer (2011, pp. 19-20) postulates that at least in French, the opposing verb moods are subjunctive, indicative, imperative and conditional. Since the latter verb mood does not play a role in the present study, it will not be taken into account.

verb, the indicative mood is generally more frequently used than the subjunctive (Dreer, 2011, p. 21; Haverkate, 2002, p. 31). The indicative mood is commonly related to expressing facts about the conversation (Haverkate, 2002, p. 5). As such, it relates to evidence or certainty of the occurrence that is expressed by the verb. In (7), for example, there is no doubt that the speaker will do something right now. The meaning of the indicative mood, therefore, supposedly implies 'assertion' (De Jonge, 2004, p. 207).

Moreover, the indicative mood is also used to intrude in the behavior of the interlocutor. Interrogative sentence structures, as the Chávez-case in Section 1.1 has illustrated, but also sentences with an impositive force that are constructed in indicative mood are clear attempts to influence the interlocutor's future actions (Haverkate, 2002, p. 11, 28), see the example in (10):

(10) *¡Hoy te quedas [IND] en casa!* 'Today you stay home!' Haverkate, 2002, p. 30)

Clearly, in (10), the indicative mood is used to force the interlocutor to stay at home. As such, (10) is a directive speech act that does not spare the interlocutor's negative face.

2.1.2.2 Subjunctive mood

Whereas in some languages (e.g., in Dutch and English) the use of the subjunctive mood has become scarce and is reduced to ritual formulae (cf. the wish that someone enjoys his meal in (8)); in Spanish, as in other Romance languages (e.g., Italian and Portuguese), speakers may express a nuance in using the subjunctive mood. Consider, for example, the difference between (11) and (12):

(11) *los que dicen [IND] eso* 'those who say that' (Butt & Benjamin, 2000, p. 272)

(12) *los que digan [SUBJ] eso* 'those who say that' (Butt & Benjamin, 2000, p. 272)

The indicative mood in (11) indicates the persons that say so, whereas the subjunctive mood in (12) indicates that some people may (and others may not) say so. In contrast to the indicative mood, the subjunctive mood is typically associated with the expression of uncertainty and probability. As such, an assigned meaning to the

subjunctive mood is 'relevance of an alternative' (i.e., for the occurrence expressed by the verb; De Jonge, 2004, p. 207. For a more detailed description of this hypothesized meaning of the subjunctive mood in Spanish, see also De Jonge, 2001). It is not surprising that the subjunctive mood is also used to express desires and making wishes (cf. the example in (8); Haverkate, 2002, p. 5). Similar to the indicative mood, the subjunctive mood is also used to intrude in the behavior of the interlocutor. That is, statements of 'influence', such as sentences with *pedir que* 'to ask/request that' (Butt & Benjamin, 2000, p. 246) trigger the appearance of the subjunctive, as is the case in (13):

(13) *Le pido que se siente [SUBJ]* 'I request you to sit down'

In (13), the speaker intends to get the interlocutor to sit down, and, as such, is an attempt to influence the interlocutor's future actions. However, in contrast to (10), a directive speech act expressed in subjunctive mood may still leave room for the alternative and may therefore be seen as less face threatening than the indicative mood.

2.1.2.3 Imperative mood

So far, we have seen that the indicative mood is generally related to certainty and the expression of facts about the conversation, whereas the subjunctive mood is associated with uncertainty and with the expression of wishes or desires. We have also seen that both moods can be used to intrude in the interlocutor's behavior. However, the imperative mood seems to be the most favorable option, since it is generally associated with the performance of directive speech acts (Haverkate, 2002, p. 18).[26] For example, consider the order in (14):

(14) *Sentad [IMPERAT]* 'Sit down'

[26] According to an empirical study by Mulder (1998, Section 12.2.5), imperative mood conjugations constitute the most frequently used directive category in contemporary Peninsular Spanish.

Yet, not only orders but also other speech acts, such as invitations, show imperative mood verb conjugations in many languages (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99), as in (15):

(15) *Sé [IMPERAT] bienvenido* 'Be welcome' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 29)

These examples show that verb conjugations in imperative mood are overt intrusions in the interlocutor's future behavior. The directive function of the imperative mood has been clearly described by Haverkate (2002), who states that:

> the primary goal of the imperative speaker is to control the intentional behavior of the addressee in such a way that the latter, for the benefit of the speaker, performs a certain act, or, in the case of a prohibitive speaker, refrains from performing a certain act. (p. 15)

In Spanish, in order for an imperative form to be interpreted as an invitation, and not as an order, it is common to repeat the verb form, as in (16):

(16) *¿Podemos entrar? — Entren [IMPERAT], entren [IMPERAT]*
'May we come in? — Please, enter' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 21)

The doubling of the verb in (16) is used in order to mitigate the imperative meaning, making possible an interpretation of invitation. Other languages use other kinds of mitigations to soften the force of the imperative mood, such as by literally inserting 'please' or by using respect terms, such as 'Sir' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 101).

Furthermore, in Spanish, the imperative mood shows a kind of hybrid inflection, since the imperative *T* forms are grammaticalized on the basis of the indicative mood, and the *V* forms on the subjunctive mood (cf. the example in (16)).[27]

[27] Not surprisingly, the affirmative *T* forms of the imperative mood are related to the indicative mood, since the informal form of the verb supposedly implies that the speaker can bring the message straight away without doubt or mitigation of any kind. Similarly, imperative *V* forms are historically related to the subjunctive mood, which may be inherent to the formal form of the verb, which requires that the speaker chooses his words more carefully. In addition, the negative paradigm of all imperative mood forms are related to the subjunctive mood, which could be due to the fact that negations imply alternative actions, just like doubts do (De Jonge, 2001, pp. 82-83).

Only the second person singular and plural affirmative verb forms (cf. the examples in (15) and (14) respectively) are genuine imperative forms (Haverkate, 2002, pp. 3-4). This is important, since it proves that the imperative mood is a proper paradigm, which supports the distinction between three verb moods in the quantitative analysis in Step 2 (see Section 2.3.1.2).

Speakers may choose one verb mood over another in order to consider the interlocutor's face. For example, they may use the indicative mood to construct a question to ask someone to do something instead of the imperative mood to formulate an order to do something. For instance, compare the imperative mood in (17) with the indicative mood in (18):

(17) *Dame [IMPERAT] la llave* 'Give me the key' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 20)

(18) *¿Me das [IND] la llave?* lit. 'Do you give me the key?' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 20)

In (18), the indicative mood is used to ask the interlocutor to give the speaker the key, whereas in (17), for the sake of the same purpose, the imperative mood is used. Although the verb mood differs between these examples, in both (17) and (18) the speaker performs a directive speech act. The speaker thus intends to get the interlocutor to do something, but in (17) he is being more direct, and is therefore more face-threatening, than in (18).[28] And so, as far as a certain verb mood is used to construct speech acts that predicate a future action of the interlocutor, it implies an attempt to influence the interlocutor's behavior. As such, the conjugation of a verb in a certain mood is identified as a threat to the interlocutor's *negative* face (i.e., the desire to not be impeded by others; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61).

2.1.3 Interaction between linguistic forms and face

In this chapter, it will be argued that the interaction between the meaning of the linguistic forms and the enhancement of positive and negative face (i.e., modes of address for positive face, and verb mood for negative face) could be particularly relevant to communication in hospitality situations. Since cultures will differ with

[28] See Sections 3.1 and 3.2 for a description of the *illocutionary point* and the *illocutionary force* (Searle, 1979, p. 3) of directive speech acts.

regard to the way in which positive and negative face needs can be fulfilled (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61), there is probably no such thing as 'standard hospitable language usage'. Hence, in order to gain a deeper understanding of how the meaning of a specific linguistic form may lead to the interpretation of hospitable language usage, it is necessary to take a closer look at the communication between hosts and guests. In daily life, hospitality concerns the encounter between strangers, neighbors, and friends, that is to say, between "people who are not regular members of a household" (Telfer, 2001, p. 39) in the home sphere. The speech acts that are performed in these encounters will be analyzed on the linguistic forms that are used to constitute these acts as well as on the circumstances in which they are performed. We will do so in two steps.

2.1.4 Overview of analyses

To investigate how hospitality is linguistically manifested, we have created a corpus of utterances taken from a novel which we will analyze in two steps. In Step 1, two of the most salient dialogues in hospitality situations will be qualitatively analysed to acquire an initial impression of the language used in these kinds of situations in the novel. From these dialogues, two types of speech acts that are typical for hospitality situations are detected: the greeting and the invitation. Then, the linguistic forms that constitute these acts are identified as well as the contextual factors that determine how these forms are interpreted. Using these insights, in Step 2, we explore the entire corpus to obtain a complete overview of the linguistic forms used in hospitality situations in the novel. To this end, we perform a series of quantitative analyses.

2.2 Step 1: Qualitative Analysis

2.2.1 Description of corpus[29]

A corpus of utterances drawn from dialogues in the novel *La marquesa de Yolombó* 'The marchioness of Yolombó' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974)) was created. The novel describes the life in a little village in Colombia, at the end of the colonial period. The story revolves around the protagonist Bárbara Caballero, who breaks with the traditional role of the woman around the home. In a society ruled by men and *machismo*, the exploration of gold mines, an activity typical for the region in which the story takes place, makes her very rich. She becomes famous for her exceptional life style, her money, her aversion to the common practice of slavery and also for the title of marchioness, which was given to her by the king of Spain as a reward for her dedication and loyalty to the Spanish court. Unfortunately, her success leads to her misfortune, as she is betrayed by her brand new husband who turns out to be a criminal with his eye on her fortune.[30]

We choose to study this particular novel for three reasons. First, it is considered by some to be one of the most famous examples of Colombian literature (e.g., Aristizábal, 2006). Second, it describes several hospitality situations, that is to say, everyday life situations in which a visitor, being a stranger or not, is welcomed by the person that is being visited. Third, the novel offers 1473 utterances that contain a variety of different linguistic forms, such as two modes of address and three types of verb moods, whereas in contemporary English it is most common to only use one mode of address ('you' followed by a second person singular verb conjugation for both the formal and the informal mode of address) and two types of verb moods (the

[29] The corpus is accessible through:
https://osf.io/d6kw8/?view_only=3f0bfd66a6da4748a1b20a54d47fe5ad
I am indebted to Mariluz Isaza Bonitto for helpful comments with regard to Colombian Spanish language usage.

[30] As no official documents of Yolombó, a rural society of the Antioquia region, survived the many years that had passed by between the period described in the novel (the late 18th and early 19th century) and the actual writing of it (in the first half of the 20th century), the author had to make use of oral tradition in order to reach *una conjetura sobre esa época y sus gentes* 'a conjecture about that era and its people' (Levy, 1974, p. 82; translation ours). Although the destiny of the characters is directed within the historical, economic, social and moral context of place and period (cf. Levy, 1974, p. 73), the novel is thus illustrative rather than representative of the history of Yolombó.

indicative and imperative mood). In Section 2.3.1.2 we will explain the categorization of modes of address and verb moods in the corpus.[31]

2.2.1.1 Division of speakers and interlocutors in the corpus

In order to become familiar with the analyzed material, we first made an overview of the characters of the novel (these were more than 100). We then identified the gender, generation, and social class of each of the characters. Together, these attributes determine whether social relationships between speakers are power- or solidarity-based, and, as such, may influence the degree of politeness expressed between speakers (Albelda Marco & Barros García, 2013, p. 30; Haverkate, 2002, p. 14; see also Section 2.1.1.1).

We determined the characters' gender based on their first name. We did so for each character.

In addition, we classified each of the characters into one of three generational categories: first generation (grandparents or elderly characters without children), second generation (parents or middle-aged characters without children), and third generation (children). To illustrate, we classified José María, the elderly guest in the hospitality situation presented in (19) (see Section 2.2.2), into the first generation. At the beginning of the novel he is *setentón* 'in his seventies' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 143; translation ours), and the village's oldest man. The children and grandchildren of the first generation constitute the second and third generation, respectively. This classification into three generations is in line with the genealogical tree of the main characters of the novel (cf. Levy, 1974, pp. 58-59).

Finally, based on the available information about the characters' origin, social position, and profession we classified each of them as either belonging to the lower-class (e.g., characters of African origin), the middle-class (e.g., characters of mixed origin), or the high-class (e.g., characters of Spanish origin).[32] Continuing with our

[31] We are aware of the fact that the use of *T* and *V* forms in the novel is slightly different from the forms used in contemporary Colombian Spanish. For an overview of the history of forms of address in Colombian Spanish including references to the most important studies, see Placencia (2010).

[32] In line with this classification, the author makes a distinction between *negros, zambos e indios* 'black people, people of mixed African and Amerindian ancestry, and Indian people', *los del revoltijo cinchado* 'the ones belonging to a mixture of African, Amerindian and European people', and *la nobleza* 'the nobility' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 420; translation ours). Note that with regard to the latter group of people, in 18th century Colombia, political and economic power was in hands of persons of Spanish origin. The

example, we categorized the elderly guest José María in (19) to the high-class, and his host Rufo to the middle-class.[33]

2.2.2 Results Step 1

The dialogue in (19) illustrates an encounter between two inhabitants of Yolombó. The speakers are the guest of high-class, *Don*[34] José María, and his host of middle-class, *Don* Rufo. José María is a rich, elderly widower who is looking for a new wife because *yo no puedo dormir solo porque me da mucho frío* 'I can't sleep alone because I get cold' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 166; translation ours). He has seen Rufo's beautiful, teenage daughter walking through the village. Now, José María knocks on his door to ask for her hand in exchange for some jewellery:

(19) *—¡Ah de la casa!— grita en cuanto arrima.*
—Buenos días, señor Don José María— contesta Don Rufo saliendo al corredor, muy hospitalario y atento— ¿Por qué no se desmonta y se cuela?
—Con mucho gusto, si lo permite el amigo.
—¡Tanté no permitirle! Más que fuera...
'—Hey, anybody home?— he screams, while arriving at the house.
—Good morning, Mr. *Don* José María— *Don* Rufo answers while coming to the corridor, very hospitable and polite—. Why don't you get off the horse and come in?
—With pleasure, if you allow me to do so, my friend.
—How will I not allow you! Of course I do...' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 158; translation ours)

In (19), the host expresses a greeting and an invitation. The greeting, *Buenos días, señor Don José María* 'Good morning, Mr. *Don* José María', consists of two parts. After a quite common greeting, wishing the other person a good day, a succession of two formal address terms can be observed, *señor* 'mister' and *don*, followed by a double

Spanish kings, although geographically remote, were having supreme authority and were even considered to be *parecidos a Dios* 'equal to God' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 412; translation ours).

[33] The overview of characters including their personal characteristics can be found at: https://osf.io/d6kw8/?view_only=3f0bfd66a6da4748a1b20a54d47fe5ad

[34] The title *Don* is used before a first name to express politeness or respect towards the person addressed (Real Academia Española, 2001). Its function is somewhat comparable to the use of 'Sir'.

proper name, indicating that the speaker in question is being very polite. The invitation, *Por qué no se desmonta y se cuela?* 'Why don't you get off the horse and come in?', may be characterized as extremely indirect, presenting an interrogative sentence structure – a question – that additionally contains a negation. However, it is very clear that the host does not expect a literal answer to the question, but instead expects the guest to accept or reject the invitation, which is indeed the case as he answers *Con mucho gusto* 'With pleasure'. According to the narrator, the utterances of the host are *muy hospitalario y atento* 'very hospitable and polite'.

Observing another similar dialogue of a hospitality situation, the dialogue in (20) also contains an invitation speech act. Yet, the linguistic forms of this dialogue are even more remarkable than the ones presented in the polite hospitality situation in (19). Conversation (20) represents a dialogue between Don José María and a visitor to the village, Fernando de Orellana, presumably a Spanish nobleman, who has reached the village of Yolombó only recently. His joviality and courtesy make him a beloved man in just a few days. More importantly, he is considered to be a good match for Bárbara Caballero, the marchioness of Yolombó. In (20), José María tries to convince Fernando to stay as his guest until the rainy season is over:

(20) —*¿Para qué viniste aquí, paisano de mil demonios?*
—*¡Ni lo sé, Don Chepe!*[35] *[...]*
Y se levanta y se lleva el pañuelo a los ojos y se pasea. Don Chepe se alza, a su vez, le toma por los molledos y le regaña con cariño, disfrazado de rabia:
—*¡De aquí no te vas, gitano del demonio, hasta que a nosotros nos dé la gana! Estás prisionero. ¿Lo oyes?*
—*Pero ¿cómo me quedo aquí más tiempo? ¡Eso es abusar de la hospitalidad!*
—*¡No digas pendejadas ni vengas a injuriarnos con reparos! Mi casa, la del Capitán, las de mis hijos, son tus casas.*
'—Why have you come here, compatriot of a thousand devils?
—I have really no idea, *Don* Chepe! [...]

[35] The proper name 'Chepe', when used in intimate social relationships, is a nickname for 'José'.

> And he gets up and brings his handkerchief to his eyes as if to dry them. Now *Don* Chepe stands up, grabs him by his arm and falls out with affection, disguised as fury:
> —You aren't going anywhere, gipsy of the devil, not before we want you to! You are our prisoner, do you understand?
> —But how can I stay here even longer? That would be an abuse of your hospitality!
> —Don't talk nonsense nor offend us with objections! My house, the Captain's house, my children's houses, are all yours.' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), pp. 488-489; translation ours)

In (20) we see a statement, *De aquí no te vas* 'You aren't going anywhere', followed by a term of abuse, *gitano del demonio* 'gipsy of the devil'. With the former utterance the speech act of prohibiting is performed, whereas the latter constitutes the speech act of insulting. Although both acts are not very hospitable at first sight, the narrator reveals that this is only apparent, as he previously explains that the host *le regaña con cariño, disfrazado de rabia* 'falls out with affection, disguised as fury'. Again, it is clear that the message intended is an invitation to stay, although the meaning of the linguistic forms is something totally different. Fortunately, the guest gets the message, which is illustrated by the remainder of the dialogue in which the host indicates that objection to the invitation will be interpreted as an offense, and, subsequently, offers his house as a sign of hospitality.

2.2.3 Discussion Step 1

In both conversation (19) and (20) it is clear that the message intended is an invitation to stay, although the basic meaning of the linguistic forms indicates something totally different. In (19) the host is being 'very hospitable and polite', whereas in (20) the host 'falls out with affection, disguised as fury'. These examples show that both polite and apparently hostile messages can be intended and interpreted as being hospitable (see Section 5.3 for a visualization of the interrelationship between hospitality, (im)politeness, hostility, and friendliness). Moreover, this means that there must be another element more preponderate than apparent politeness or hostility. It will be argued that this element is in the role of the beneficiary, which will be further developed and discussed in Chapter 3.

Speakers may thus employ different communicative strategies in order to be hospitable. Moreover, it may be the case that context, body language and prosodic aspects such as intonation are more important in the interpretation of an utterance than the semantic content of the linguistic forms.[36] Since greetings and invitations seem to be particularly relevant to hospitality situations, these two speech acts will be further discussed.

2.2.3.1 Greetings

The speech act of greeting is typically performed to enhance the positive face of interlocutors (Haverkate, 1994, p. 88). Moreover, greetings are considered to be a universal phenomenon. All cultures use greetings in communication (Haverkate, 1994, p. 84), although the way of greeting will differ among cultures (see, for instance, Hofstede, Hofstede, and Minkov, 2010 for a discussion of cultural differences). As such, they are particularly relevant to the communication in hospitality situations. Speakers may have several reasons to perform a greeting. In the polite hospitality situation in (19), the greeting, *¡Ah de la casa!* 'Hey, anybody home?' is most probably uttered to attract the interlocutor's attention (cf. Haverkate, 1994, p. 85). In addition, greetings may be performed to confirm the hierarchical position between the speakers, which is commonly defined by their social position and the grade of intimacy between them (Haverkate, 1994, p. 85). In the polite hospitality situation in (19), the positive effect of the greeting, *Buenos días* 'Good morning', is intensified by the formal titles of address, *señor* 'mister' and *don*. Since speakers neither have kinship nor friendship ties, and also, considering the difference in social class, the use of these linguistic forms in the given circumstances is perfectly understandable.

In the polite hospitality situation in (19), both the wish in *Buenos días* 'Good morning', and the terms of address *señor* 'mister' and *don* serve to enhance the positive face of the interlocutor. However, generally, the use of address terms may be problematic when the speaker, accidentally or intentionally, misidentifies the interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 67). This is the case when a speaker addresses his interlocutor in an embarrassing way, for example, by using a proper name where 'mister' and/or *don* is expected. The speaker, then, is being too familiar,

[36] In Chapter 3 we will discuss how the CONTEXT may contribute to the uptake of an utterance; see also Section 1.4.3, note 18.

and may insult his interlocutor implying that the social distance between them is smaller than it is felt by his interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 230). Nonetheless, in the greeting in the polite hospitality situation in (19), the combination of the specific terms seems to be used in order to avoid misunderstanding, and can therefore be taken as an enhancement of the positive face of the guest.

2.2.3.2 Invitations

Similar to greetings, invitations are also considered to be polite speech acts, as they express the intention of the speaker to carry out an action to the interlocutor's benefit (Haverkate, 1994, p. 106). However, contrary to greetings, which are meant as an enhancement of the positive face of the interlocutor, invitations also imply an intrusion in the behavior of the interlocutor. As such, the speaker restricts the interlocutor's negative face, as it interferes in his freedom of action. There is a risk that interlocutors may not wish to receive an invitation, for instance, when the person addressed is in a hurry, or when the interlocutor belongs to a higher social class than the speaker, as is the case in the polite hospitality situation in (19) (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99). Consequently, the person addressed is confronted with a dilemma. To accept the invitation implies a threat to his own negative face, while to decline the invitation probably signifies a threat to the speaker's positive face. Now, based on the mutual vulnerability of face, it is assumed that speakers will generally cooperate in maintaining their mutual faces (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61). Hence, to be truly hospitable, the speaker that conveys the invitation needs to consider the threats to both faces. In the polite hospitality situation in (19) we have seen that the speaker does so by using a linguistic structure that literally expresses another speech act differing from what it in fact pragmatically implies.

And so, the intended message of the invitation performed in the polite hospitality situation in (19) is dressed up as a negative question. This communicative strategy is used to propose an activity to the interlocutor (Matte Bon, 1995, p. 319). Negative questions are commonly used by speakers to indicate what they know about their interlocutor's needs (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 122). They have certain linguistic characteristics to redress the imposition of the face-threatening act of, in the specific case, the invitation. First, the verb form is the indicative mood, which is commonly seen as the unmarked or neutral form of the verb (see Section 2.1.2.1), as opposed to the imperative mood, which would imply a more direct threat to the

interlocutor's negative face (see Section 2.1.2.3). Second, the invitation in the polite hospitality situation in (19) has a negation in the structure, leaving an opportunity for the guest to NOT change his actions. The host is just asking a question, and it is up to the guest whether or not to take it as the invitation implied by it.[37] Third, the conjugation of the verbs in third person singular, as opposed to the second person singular denoting a familiar form, indicates the polite form of the verb. As such, the verb conjugations can be taken as an enhancement of the interlocutor's positive self-image.

Similar to the example of the polite hospitality situation in (19), in the apparently impolite hospitality situation in (20) the linguistic structures that are used literally express other speech acts than their pragmatic implications. In contrast, surprisingly enough, the linguistic forms in the apparently impolite situation in (20) constitute a serious threat to the interlocutor's positive and negative face at first sight. In this example, a prohibition is performed by means of an imperative utterance in indicative mood, *De aquí no te vas* 'You aren't going anywhere', not leaving any freedom of action to the guest at all. Moreover, even an insult is observed in *gitano del demonio* 'gipsy of the devil'. Yet, it was still considered to be an example of a hospitality situation, which followed from the remainder of the dialogue.

Now, the use of apparent terms of abuse in social relationships that are characterized by certain intimacy, such as *gordito* 'fatso' used by women to address their husband, is in some cultures a quite common communicative strategy to assert such intimacy (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 229; Fitch, 1998, p. 43; Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 391). A speaker may even threaten the positive face of his interlocutor by being too polite, as it implies that the social distance between them is greater than is felt by the interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987, pp. 229-230). In the apparently impolite hospitality situation in (20), the term of abuse denotes intimacy, and is therefore taken as an enhancement of the interlocutor's positive face. Moreover, by the speech act of prohibiting, the speaker in fact insists that the interlocutor may impose on his negative face (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99). Hence, the prohibition to leave is an enhancement of the positive face of the interlocutor, and is interpreted as an invitation to stay. Important in this regard is that no other face wants are

[37] According to Mulder (1998, p. 181), questions starting with *¿Por qué no...?* 'Why don't...?' are a kind of rhetorical questions. This kind of questions do not require an answer, but do have an effect on the interlocutor.

threatened, which is clearly dependent on the circumstances. Obviously, in the polite hospitality situation in (19), the performance of the speech acts of prohibiting and insulting would have been highly offensive.

2.2.4 Conclusions Step 1

We draw several conclusions from this qualitative analysis. First, we conclude that the speech acts of greeting and inviting are particularly relevant to hospitality situations. Second, different linguistic forms are involved to perform greetings and invitations. More specifically, it was found that the linguistic forms that were used in the hospitality situations could be seen as varying from very polite to apparently extremely impolite. Third, it was illustrated that in hospitality situations specific modes of address (*T* and *V*) may be used, since these affect an interlocutor's positive face. Likewise, different sentence structures, such as the interrogative structure with a negation in indicative mood (cf. the polite hospitality situation in (19)), seem to be relevant to hospitality situations, as they clearly affect the negative face of speakers. Fourth, whether linguistic forms enhance or threaten the interlocutor's positive and negative face is determined by contextual factors, such as the type of social relationship between the speakers and the communicative situation in which they are used. For example, to call a stranger a 'bastard' in order to be hospitable is quite unthinkable, whereas in intimate social relationships the use of a term of abuse (cf. *gordito* 'fatso' between conjugal partners) may be taken as a sign of appreciation.

Overall, and in line with Section 1.2.2, the qualitative analysis has once again illustrated the intangibility of hospitality: both friendly and polite, and apparently hostile and impolite language usages may contribute to the interpretation of hospitality.[38] In an attempt to get a grip on hospitality, we will now explore the entire corpus to obtain a complete overview of the linguistic forms used in the communication between hosts and guests in the novel.

[38] This indicates that hospitality may indeed be a speaker's strategy that aims to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

2.3 Step 2: Quantitative Analyses[39]

Step 1 offered an initial impression of the linguistic forms that are used in hospitality situations in the novel and of the contextual factors that determine how they are interpreted. Specifically, we identified two contextual factors: (1) whether the communicative situation is conflictive or not, and (2) whether the conversation is between relatives or between non-relatives. For instance, *T* commonly expresses solidarity in colloquial speech, yet indicates power in conflictive situations (cf. Brown & Gilman, 1968, pp. 272-273). Similarly, *V* generally indicates respect, however, between relatives it could also express distance. This leads us to expect that speakers will strategically choose the linguistic forms to construct speech acts depending on the specific circumstances of the conversation. To empirically investigate this, in Step 2, we quantitatively analyse the entire corpus. In line with the qualitative analysis of Step 1, but also in agreement with the definition of hospitality provided by Telfer (2001) (see Section 1.3, note 9), we assume here that hospitality situations are most likely to occur in non-conflictive situations between non-relatives.[40]

2.3.1 Method

2.3.1.1 Collection of utterances in the corpus

We used the same corpus as in Step 1 (see Section 2.2.1). As mentioned before, the novel offers 1473 utterances that contain verb conjugations in second (*T*) or third (*V*) person singular of the indicative, subjunctive, or imperative mood. Because we needed background information of the speakers (e.g., generation; see Section 2.2.1.1) to be able to determine the situation and social relationship pertaining to each utterance (see Section 2.3.1.2), we excluded utterances from the corpus in which information about at least one of the speakers was missing. In (21), for instance, a character named

[39] I am indebted to Wiebren Jansen, author of *Lezen en beoordelen van onderzoekspublicaties* ('Reading and assessing research publications'; Jansen & Jansen, 2016), for help with the statistical analyses of Chapters 2 and 4.

[40] We are aware that hospitality situations could result in conflictive situations, and, moreover, that not all relatives necessarily are members of one and the same household (e.g., in the case of cousins). Because the approach of this dissertation in general, and of this explorative chapter in specific, is to investigate the relationship between hospitality and language in different ways, the division between relatives and non-relatives and between conflictive and non-conflictive situations seems to be valid as long as it helps us to get a glimpse of hospitality through language usage.

Olano is addressed by José María, the host in the apparently impolite hospitality situation in (20):

(21) *Eso es trabajo de quince días. ¿Qué dices tú, Olano?* 'That job will take two weeks. What do you think, Olano?' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 243; translation ours)

Besides his name, no other details of Olano are given, and, therefore, it was not possible to classify this utterance into one of the categories of Section 2.3.1.2. Moreover, impersonal uses of second person singular verb conjugations were excluded from the corpus, because these kinds of constructions are commonly used when the agent of the action is irrelevant or even unknown (cf. Butt & Benjamin, 2000, Section 28.1, 28.7.2). For example, in (22), Fernando, the guest in the apparently impolite hospitality situation in (20), is talking to his host José María about his personal assistant:

(22) *Mi madre dice que resucita muertos y no es mentira: dale tú un vestido viejo y véselo puesto: parece que lo estrena.* 'My mother says he resuscitates dead people and that is not a joke: give him an old dress and see it put on: it seems like it is brand new.' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 493; translation ours)

In (22), Fernando emphasizes the excellent sewing qualities of his personal assistant Juanelo, but due to an impersonal *T* form the imperative mood is used without addressing someone in particular.

Of each utterance included in the corpus we classified mode of address (*T* or *V*) and verb mood (indicative, subjunctive, or imperative). Also, we defined the social relationship between the speakers (relatives or non-relatives), and determined the kind of communicative situation (conflictive or non-conflictive) in which the utterance was embedded.

2.3.1.2 Measures

Communicative situations. Utterances were coded as belonging to either a conflictive or a non-conflictive situation. Encounters, such as between the speakers in the polite hospitality situation in (19), and pleasant conversations, such as between the

speakers in the apparently impolite hospitality situation in (20), were coded as non-conflictive situations.[41] Discussions and quarrels were coded as conflictive situations. The extracts below illustrate how a pleasant conversation between neighbors (cf. 23a) turns into a discussion (cf. 23b), and finally results in a quarrel (cf. 23c).[42] Antonina (high-class) is visiting her neighbors Naciancena and Rosendo (middle-class) and their household employee Procesa (lower-class). They are talking about a party organized by Antonina's aunt, the marchioness of Yolombó, to celebrate the attestation of king Carlos IV:

(23a)—*¡Eh, misiá Antoninita! ¿Vusté por qué no fue al refresco?*
—*No voy a reuniones, cuando no está aquí Cancio.*
—*Contá a ver qué viste, Procesa, y sentáte en el baúl.*
—*¡María Santa, Ñor Don Rosendo! Nian yo saberé decile. Esu-es la cosa pa más linda que se haberá visto en este sitio. . . .*
'—Hey, Miss Antoninita! Why didn't you go for drinks?
—I don't go to meetings when Cancio [her husband] is not at home.
—Tell us what you've seen, Procesa, and sit down on the trunk.
—Holy Mary, Mr. *Don* Rosendo! Words couldn't describe it. It was the most beautiful thing that was ever seen in this place.' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 377; translation ours)

The pleasant conversation in (23a) turns into a discussion when Naciancena starts gossiping about Antonina's aunt. In (23b), Antonina demands her neighbor to speak up:

(23b)—*¿Qué es lo que dice, Naciancena? —estalla Doña Antonina—. Hágame el favor de repetir, porque no le entiendo.*
—*¡Eh, Antoninita! ¡Se viene a hacer de las nuevas, usted, que no les tapa nada! […]*
—*Pues, si no me explica, no sé lo que quiere decir.*

[41] This implies that banter was coded as non-conflictive.
[42] Note that, together with the transition from pleasant conversation to quarrel, a shift from *V* form to *T* form can be observed. In line with this observation, we will see in Section 2.3.2.1 that *V* forms are more likely to be used in hospitality situations than *T* forms.

> '—What are you saying, Naciancena? —Mrs. Antonina bursts out—. Please, do me the favor of repeating, because I don't understand you.
> —Hey, Antoninita! You're of the new kind, you don't cover up anything from them! . . . .
> —Well, if you don't explain it to me, I don't know what you mean.' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 379; translation ours)

Apparently, the explanation then provided by Naciancena does not please Antonina, which is reflected in the extract in (23c) in which Antonina insults and attacks her:

(23c)—*¡La materia corrompida la tendrés vos y toda tu ralea, zamba atrevida y lengüilarga— barbota frenética, y, lanzándose como un tigre, la levanta de la greña, le ajusta una tanda de sopapos y la despatarra en la tarima—. ¡Es pa que aprendás a respetar las señoras, mugrosa tolerada*!

'—You and all your kind of people are the corrupted dirty ones, insolent gossip half-breed— she furiously grumbles, and throwing herself like a tiger, she lifts her up by her tangled hair, she punches her several times and she throws her on the floor—. This will make you learn to respect true ladies, you filthy animal!' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 379; translation ours)

Based on this categorization, 7% of the utterances belonged to conflictive situations (n = 98) and 93% to non-conflictive situations (n = 1375).

Social relationships. Utterances were categorized either as uttered between relatives or as uttered between non-relatives. The social relationships between family members, namely, conjugal partners, (grand)parents and (grand)children, parents-in-law and children-in-law, siblings, siblings-in-law, aunts and uncles and their nieces and nephews, and cousins were coded as belonging to the category of relatives. All other social relationships, namely, between inhabitants, inhabitants and the mayor of Yolombó, friends, neighbors, acquaintances, strangers, employers and employees, bosses and servants, godparents and godchildren, were coded as belonging to the category of non-relatives. Based on this categorization, 41% (n = 607) of the utterances were uttered between relatives, and 59% (n = 866) between non-relatives.

Modes of address. We categorized the mode of address of all utterances as either *T* or *V*. Second person singular verb conjugations were coded as representing

the informal mode of address *(T)*. Example (24) is taken from the apparently impolite hospitality situation described in (20):

(24) *Estás [T] prisionero. ¿Lo oyes [T]?* 'You are our prisoner, do you understand?'

In total, there were 673 counts (46%) of *T* in the corpus. Similarly, third person singular verb conjugations denoting a second person singular subject were coded as representing the formal mode of address *(V)*. Example (25), which was taken from the polite hospitality situation presented in (19), includes two of such verb conjugations indicating mode of address *V*:

(25) *¿Por qué no se desmonta [V] y se cuela [V]?* 'Why don't you get off the horse and come in?'

There were 800 counts (54%) of *V* in the corpus. It appeared that the distribution of modes of address in the corpus was quite equally divided between *T* and *V*, which implied that mode of address was apt to a more detailed analysis.

Verb moods. Finally, the verb mood of all utterances was determined. We distinguished between three moods: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative.[43] In total, there were 768 counts (52%) of indicative mood and 134 counts (9%) of subjunctive mood verb conjugations. The example in (26), also taken from the apparently impolite hospitality situation in (20), includes both verb moods:

(26) *¡De aquí no te vas [IND], gitano del demonio, hasta que a nosotros nos dé [SUBJ] la gana!* 'You aren't going anywhere, gipsy of the devil, not before we want you to!'

[43] As explained in Section 1.4, the dissertation's approach to linguistic forms is in line with the Columbia School of Linguistics. Parting from the idea that the linguistic forms have one and the same general meaning in all contexts, all instances of subjunctive mood are included in the analysis, also non-illocutionary uses that are sometimes excluded by other studies. Since there is no formal way of excluding these, there is no other alternative than to include them, in our view. The implication is that also non-illocutionary uses of the subjunctive mood are considered for analysis, since the meaning of the subjunctive mood is not fundamentally different and therefore also these contexts contribute to understanding its role in hospitality situations.

In addition, there were 571 counts (39%) of verb conjugations in imperative mood. The verb conjugations in (27), once again taken from the apparently impolite hospitality situation in (20), indicate the imperative mood:

(27) *¡No digas [IMPERAT] pendejadas ni vengas [IMPERAT] a injuriarnos con reparos!*
'Don't talk nonsense nor offend us with objections!'

Not surprisingly, it appeared that the subjunctive mood, representing only 9% of the cases, was less frequently used in the corpus, since it is the marked form of the verb. Yet, also in the case of verb mood, the total number of cases was enough to proceed to the quantitative analysis. Table 2.2 displays the frequencies of all study variables.

Table 2.2 Descriptive Statistics of the Study Variables

Study variable	Category	*n* (% of total)
Communicative situation	Conflictive	98 (7%)
	Non-conflictive	1375 (93%)
Social relationship	Relative	607 (41%)
	Non-relative	866 (59%)
Mode of address	*T*	673 (46%)
	V	800 (54%)
Verb mood	Indicative	768 (52%)
	Subjunctive	134 (9%)
	Imperative	571 (39%)

2.3.2 Results Step 2

To explore how the use of modes of address and verb moods differed across levels of the two identified contextual factors (communicative situation and social relationship), we performed a series of logistic regression analyses. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 show the results.

2.3.2.1 Modes of address

We explored how and to what extent the type of communicative situation (conflictive or non-conflictive) and the social relationship between speakers (relatives or non-

relatives) separately and jointly determine the use of mode of address (*T* or *V*). In addition, we more specifically tested whether hospitality situations (defined as non-conflictive interactions between non-relatives) differ from non-hospitality situations (all other situations) in the use of mode of address. To do so, we performed a binary logistic regression analysis. This type of regression analysis is particularly suited when the dependent variable is categorical and dichotomous (Field, 2009, p. 277), which is the case in our model (mode of address has two categories: *T* and *V*).

To this end, we estimated the separate effects ('main effects') of our two independent variables (communicative situation and social relationship) as well as their combined effect ("interaction effect") on mode of address (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Logistic Regression of Mode of Address on Communicative Situation and Social Relationship

Parameter	*B* (SE)	Wald χ^2 (1)	*p*	Exp*(B)*
Constant	-0.47 (0.26)	3.40	.07	.63
Communicative situation (0 = conflictive; 1 = non-conflictive)	0.01 (0.27)	0.00	.97	1.01
Social relationship (0 = relatives; 1 = non-relatives)	0.29 (0.43)	0.44	.51	1.33
Communicative situation x Social relationship	0.84 (0.45)	3.48	.06	2.30
Overall model statistics				
-2Log likelihood	1923.44			
Nagelkerke R^2	.09			

Note: Mode of Address is coded such that 0 = *T* and 1 = *V*

To ease interpretation, we first explain the main elements of the table in turn, starting with *B* and Exp(*B*). Because the dependent variable in a logistic regression analysis is categorical, and the analysis therefore models logarithmic instead of linear effects, the exponent of the regression weight *B* (Exp(*B*), also known as the odds ratio) indicates the strength of each effect. In our analysis, Exp(*B*) is the likelihood that *V* is used instead of *T* (given that *V* is coded as 1 and *T* as 0) across different levels of 'Communicative situation' and 'Social relationship'. To illustrate, if Exp(*B*) of the main effect of 'Communicative situation' equals 1, this means that conflictive and non-conflictive situations do not differ in their likelihood that *T* and *V* are used. If

Exp(*B*) for this effect is higher than 1, the probability that *V* is used instead of *T* is higher in non-conflictive situations than in conflictive situation (given that non-conflictive situations are coded as 1 and conflictive situations as 0). If Exp(*B*) is lower than 1, the probability that *V* is used instead of *T* is lower in non-conflictive situations than in conflictive situations (again: given that non-conflictive situations are coded as 1 and conflictive situations as 0). Finally, the Wald statistic indicates the significance of all estimated effects.

It appeared that there was no main effect of communicative situation on mode of address, Wald χ^2 (1) = 0.00, p = .97, indicating that *T* and *V* were as likely to be used in conflictive as in non-conflictive situations. Similarly, there was no main effect of social relationship on mode of address, Wald χ^2 (1) = 0.44, p = .51, indicating that *T* and *V* were as likely to be used among relatives as among non-relatives. However, these effects were qualified by a marginally significant interaction effect (see Figure 2.1) of communicative situation and social relationship on mode of address, Wald χ^2 (1) = 3.48, p = .06.

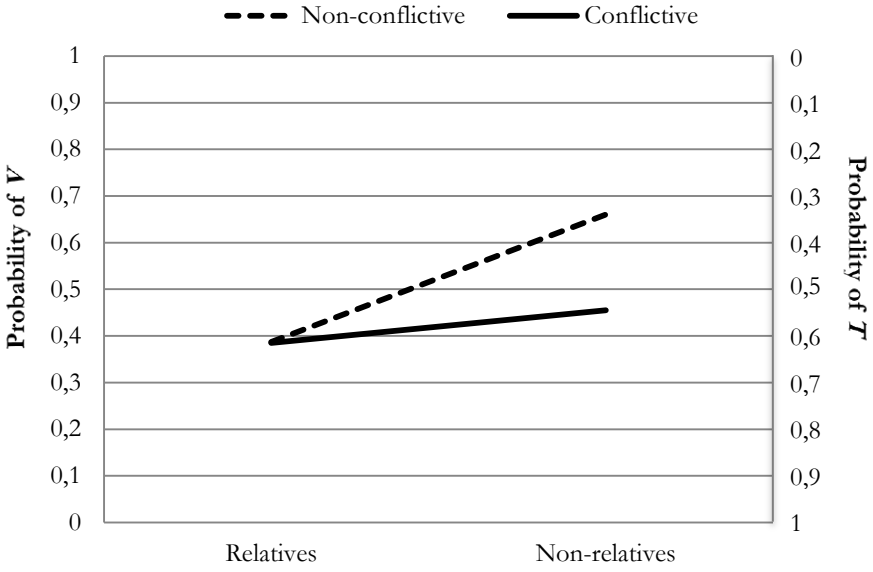

Figure 2.1 Mode of Address as a Function of Social Relationship and Communicative Situation

The left vertical axis depicts the probability of *V* occurring, whereas the right vertical axis depicts the probability of *T* occurring. Fitting with the fact that speakers either use *T* or *V*, these probabilities are inversely related to each other, such that the higher the probability of *V*, the lower the probability of *T*, and vice versa. It appears that among relatives, regardless of whether the situation was conflictive or not, *T* was more likely to be used (61% of the utterances) than *V* (39% of the utterances). Among non-relatives, however, *T* was more likely to be used in conflictive situations (54% of the utterances) than *V* (46% of the utterances), while *V* was more often used in non-conflictive situations (66% of the utterances) than *T* (34% of the utterances).

From this analysis, we conclude that in hospitality situations (if defined as interactions between non-relatives that are non-conflictive in nature) *V* is more likely to be used than *T*, whereas in non-hospitality situations (all other combinations of communicative situation and social relationship) *T* is more likely to be used than *V*.

2.3.2.2 Verb moods

We furthermore investigated how and to what extent the type of communicative situation (conflictive or non-conflictive) and the social relationship between speakers (relatives or non-relatives) determine the use of verb moods (indicative, imperative, and subjunctive). In addition, we specifically tested whether hospitality situations (defined as non-conflictive interactions between non-relatives) differ from non-hospitality situations (all other situations) in the use of verb moods. We did so by performing a multinominal logistic regression analysis (see Table 2.4). This type of regression analysis is particularly suited when the dependent variable has more than two categories (Field, 2009, p. 300), which is the case in our model (verb mood has three categories: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative). Because the most commonly used verb mood is the indicative, we chose this as our reference category. This means that we compared the use of subjunctives and imperatives relative to indicatives.

Table 2.4 Multinominal Logistic Regression Analysis of Verb Mood on Communicative Situation and Social Relationship

	Imperative			Subjunctive		
Parameter	*B* (SE)	Wald χ^2 (1)	Exp*(B)*	*B* (SE)	Wald χ^2 (1)	Exp*(B)*
Constant	0.34	1.65ns		-1.61	10.79**	
	(0.26)			(0.49)		
Communicative situation	-0.73	6.86**	0.48	-0.18	0.13ns	0.83
(0 = confl.; 1 = non-confl.)	(0.28)			(0.51)		
Social relationship	-0.53	1.42ns	0.59	-0.53	0.35ns	0.59
(0 = relatives; 1 = non-relatives)	(0.45)			(0.89)		
Communicative situation x	0.63	1.87ns	1.89	0.61	0.45ns	1.84
Social relationship	(0.46)			(0.92)		
Overall model statistics						
-2Log likelihood	39.78					
Nagelkerke R^2	.01					

The only significant result we found concerned the main effect of communicative situation on the use of imperative mood conjugations relative to indicative mood conjugations, Wald χ^2 (1) = 6.86, $p < .01$. This indicates that, when leaving out subjunctive mood conjugations, in conflictive situations, the imperative mood (54%) is more often used than the indicative mood (46%). The reverse is true for non-conflictive situations in which the indicative mood (58%) is more often used than the imperative mood (42%). As reflected in the absence of a significant interaction effect between communicative situation and social relationship, this effect is similar for relatives and non-relatives. Figure 2.2 visualizes this pattern of results. The left vertical axis depicts the probability of the imperative mood occurring, whereas the right vertical axis depicts the probability of the indicative mood occurring. Note that, when leaving the subjunctive mood out of consideration, these probabilities are inversely related to each other, such that the higher the probability of the imperative mood, the lower the probability of the indicative mood, and vice versa.

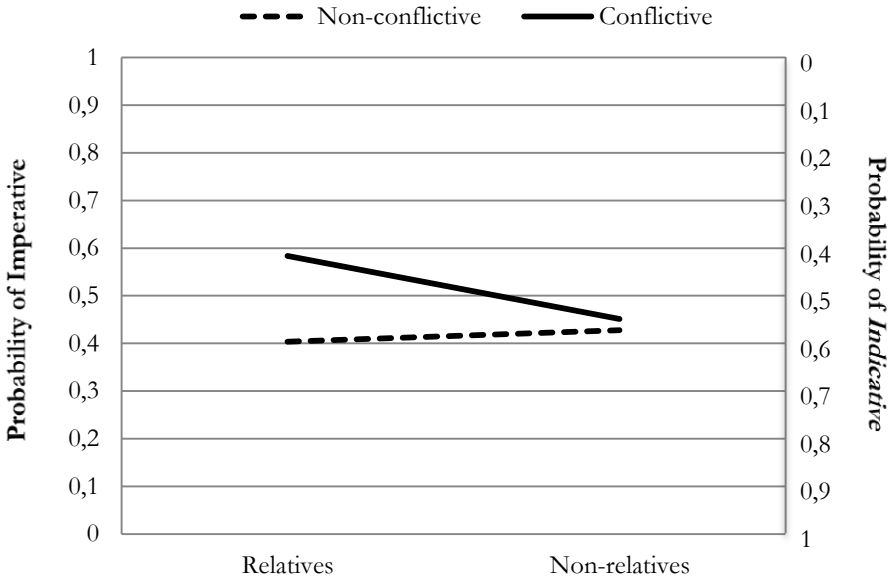

Figure 2.2 Verb Mood as a Function of Social Relationship and Communicative Situation (Imperative versus Indicative)

From this analysis, we conclude that hospitality situations (defined as interactions between non-relatives that are non-conflictive in nature) do not necessarily differ from non-hospitality situations in the use of verb moods.

2.3.3 Conclusions Step 2

Assuming that hospitality situations can be defined as interactions between non-relatives that are non-conflictive in nature, we draw two conclusions with regard to this kind of situations from these findings. First, in hospitality situations, *V* is more likely to be used than *T*, whereas in non-hospitality situations, *T* is more likely to be used than *V*. Second, hospitality situations do not necessarily differ from non-hospitality situations in the use of verb moods.

2.4 Observations about Language Usage in Hospitality Situations

In this chapter, we aimed to observe language usage in hospitality situations. In Step 1, speech acts were analysed as well as the linguistic forms that constitute these acts, in the dialogues that belonged to two different hospitality situations. The qualitative analyses of the dialogues indicated that hospitality could be related to different linguistic systems interacting with the context. Indeed, with regard to indirect speech acts, as in the polite and in the apparently impolite hospitality situations in (19) and (20) respectively, the context seems to be crucial for an interlocutor in order to understand the pragmatic message, since the sentence he literally hears means something else. On the one hand, speakers are thought to have the need to not be impeded by others, on the other hand, they also want to be appreciated by others. Therefore, they avoid potential threats to their mutual negative faces, as well as strive to enhance their positive face, which seems to be relevant to hospitality as far as it concerns communication. The findings of the qualitative analysis once again illustrated the intangibility of hospitality: both friendly and polite, and apparently hostile and impolite language usages may contribute to the interpretation of hospitality.

Consequently, in Step 2, the entire corpus was analyzed in an attempt to get a grip on hospitality. To obtain a complete overview of the linguistic forms used in the communication between hosts and guests in the novel, we first assumed that situations in which hospitality strategies are more likely to be applied can be defined as interactions between non-relatives that are non-conflictive in nature. We then performed a series of quantitative analyses. These analyses showed that the formal form of address *V* is more likely to be used than the informal form *T* in hospitality situations. In contrast, we have found no evidence that hospitality situations differ from non-hospitality situations in the use of verb moods.

On the one hand, the results have to be interpreted with caution, since there may be other factors that possibly influence the outcome, such as the differentiation between types of social relationships other than between relatives and non-relatives. Moreover, the findings cannot be generalized to the Spanish speaking community in real life, since they are based on an early 20th century Colombian Spanish novel. As such, they cannot be taken as an independent proof of the influence of the individual linguistic form and its meaning to the pragmatic message.

On the other hand, our findings are in line with a recent study on the tasks in the domain of a hotel receptionist's job in an English-speaking environment (Malicka, Gilabert Guerrero, & Norris, 2019). Specific focus is on the relationship between the kind of tasks done in this domain, and the language usage that is associated with these tasks. According to the informants that took part in this study, specifically in hospitality (business) situations successful communication depends on politeness. Knowing how to be friendly and polite may very well be seen as part of the hospitality strategy. It is considered to be more important than to have a proper knowledge of context-related vocabulary of a foreign language, which is very well expressed by a non-native English speaking employee:

> Knowing technical vocabulary [e.g., technical vocabulary related to a malfunctioning of a device (Malicka et al., 2019, p. 89)] is not the most important thing …. if you don't know a word, there is another word that says more or less the same …. maybe you can be polite without being a very good speaker of English. (Malicka et al., 2019, p. 89)

In this light, it is not surprising that the analyses in Step 2 have shown that *V* forms are more likely to be used in hospitality situations than *T* forms.

While this may be true, in the same study by Malicka et al. (2019) it was also observed that not all interactions between reception desk employees and guests could be characterized as being polite. Especially with regard to the check-in procedure, in which the reception desk employee needs to ask the guest several questions, imperative utterances as in (28), or utterances openly expressing the receptionist's need as in (29) were not uncommon:

(28) Come here (Malicka et al., 2019, p. 89)

(29) I need your passport (Malicka et al., 2019, p. 89)

The examples in (28) and (29) reveal that, although the reception desk employees mentioned being polite as one of the most important aspect in the interaction with guests, in practice, these interactions were sometimes quite direct, showing deficiencies in politeness (cf. Malicka et al., 2019, p. 89). Clearly, it could be argued

that the lack of politeness expressed in (28) and (29) may be due to a lack of either English speaking skills or of experience with the check-in procedure.[44] Yet, also other speech acts that are typically related to hospitality situations, such as invitations, are commonly performed using direct sentence structures, such as imperative mood conjugations (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99; see also Section 1.1).

We conclude that hospitality and language seem to be inextricably entwined, yet so far it remains difficult to (intuitively) relate a specific verb mood to hospitality situations, such as has been the case with modes of address (viz., *V* forms). Therefore, in Chapter 3 we aim to give a THEORETICAL explanation of the empirical patterns found in Chapter 2. We will specifically address the issue of how it is possible that invitations – expressions of hospitality – have an imperative force as part of their meaning, but do not function as idiomatic orders – in contrast to invitations rather hostile acts.

[44] Indeed, Malicka et al. (2019) report on a reception desk employee telling a novice colleague how to politely ask for the guest's credit card, see the example in (30):

(30) Could I have your credit card, please? (Malicka et al., 2019, p. 89).

Thus, in contrast to the request in (29), in (30) the reception desk employee uses an interrogative sentence structure, followed by 'please'.

Chapter 3

And the beneficiary is…

Towards a definition of hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective

Abstract

In this study we focus on the problematic relationship between speech acts and their linguistic forms. The imperative mood is iconically related to orders, but is also used to perform invitations. Although both acts are clearly different, the essence of this difference has not been made clear to date. Quite the contrary: both orders and invitations have been classified as directive speech acts. As such, they both are considered as an attempt to influence the future actions of the interlocutor. So to address this issue, the meaning of 'to order' and 'to invite' is analyzed. It is argued that there is a fundamental difference in the identity of the beneficiary in relation to the interlocutors with each of the speech acts. This results in an amended model of two directive speech acts, in which the notion of the beneficiary plays a key role. The findings offer us a better understanding of the discrepancy between the pragmatic message of an utterance that is expressed by means of speech acts, and the linguistic forms involved to construct these acts. We conclude that hospitality, considered from a pragmalinguistic perspective, appears to be a strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

3.1 On the apparent Interchangeability of Invitations and Orders

In the discovery voyages of Christopher Columbus to "the new world" (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 164), the encounters between the Spaniards and the native populations of the Caribbean islands are described in detail. Initially, the natives were frightened of the white men and hid themselves in the woods. But once they were feeling confident, they were extremely friendly and generous. They invited the Spaniards to their villages, where "they were most hospitably entertained" (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 122). The invitation is a returning speech act in the descriptions of the encounters; consider (1):

(1) The island appeared throughout to be well wooded, with streams of water, and a large lake in the center. As the boats proceeded, they passed two or three villages, the inhabitants of which, men as well as women, ran to the shores, throwing themselves on the ground, lifting up their hands and eyes, either giving thanks to heaven, or worshipping the Spaniards as supernatural beings. They ran along parallel to the boats, called after the Spaniards, and INVITING them by signs to land, offering them various fruits and vessels of water (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 97; emphasis added).

Since in (1) the invitation is only established by means of gestures, it can be debated whether the author, who based himself on books, manuscripts and documents of the Spanish conquest of the Americas (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. xliv), correctly interpreted them as an invitation.[45] An alternative sentence with the speech act verb of 'to order', cf. '… and ORDERING them by signs to land', would also give a grammatically and semantically coherent sentence, still expressing the wish of the inhabitants of the island to change the course of the Spaniards. Now let us compare the inviting-encounter in (1) with (2), in which another encounter is described:

[45] The first author is the American biographer and historian Washington Irving (1783-1859). Whether or not the description of Irving accurately reflects the life and voyages of Christopher Columbus is not of interest here. It provides us at least with a romantic version which nicely illustrates the research problem.

(2) Setting sail on the 16th of December at midnight, Columbus steered again for Hispaniola. When halfway across the gulf which separates the islands, he perceived a canoe navigated by a single Indian, and as on a former occasion, was astonished at his hardihood in venturing so far from land in so frail a bark, and at his adroitness in keeping it above water, as the wind was fresh, and there was some sea running. He ORDERED both him and his canoe to be taken on board, and having anchored near a village on the coast of Hispaniola, at present known as Puerto de Paz, he sent him on a shore well regaled and enriched with various presents (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 120; emphasis added).

Similar to the inviting-encounter in (1), in (2), the sentence stating that Columbus ordered the man to be taken on board could be easily replaced with 'He INVITED him on board'. However, it remains the question whether the alternatives to (1) and (2) would be pragmatically adequate. The difference between both examples is that Columbus in the ordering-encounter in (2) actually ordered his crew to take the man on board, whereas the chief of the inhabitants in the inviting-encounter in (1) also might have ordered them to invite the Spaniards.[46]

Clearly, many centuries have passed since the discovery voyages of Christopher Columbus in the 15th century. Nowadays, besides the indigenous languages, Spanish is an official language in the Caribbean. In addition, new technologies such as translation apps on smart phones facilitate the communication in cross-cultural encounters. Although language barriers may still create difficulties, it has become more challenging to find situations in which speakers have nothing but gestures to communicate. Rather than making the typical hand gestures to invite or to order someone, speakers normally utter a sentence, such as 'Welcome', or 'Come near'. The present chapter focuses on these kinds of utterances, or so-called speech acts (Searle, 1969, p. 16; see Section 1.4.1 for a more detailed description of speech acts).[47]

[46] This is quite likely, since Irving and MacElroy (1981) claim that the form of government of the leaders of the native populations of the Caribbean islands was "completely despotic" (p. 127), and state that "the caciques had entire control over the lives, the property, and even the religion of their subjects" (p. 127).
[47] Following the tradition of Searle (1969), the term 'speech act' will refer to the *illocutionary* act, that is, the utterance of a complete sentence, in a particular context, under certain conditions, and with specific intentions (pp. 24-25).

Interestingly, both invitations and orders have been categorized as *directive* speech acts (Searle, 1979, p. 14).[48] Characteristic of directives is the attempt by the speaker to influence the behavior of the interlocutor (Searle, 1979, p. 13). Although this may initially seem paradoxical, when taking a closer look the inhabitants of the island in the inviting-encounter in (1) clearly try to change the course of the Spaniards, as they wish to get them to visit their homes and villages. Similarly, in the ordering-encounter in (2), Columbus aims to get his crew to take the man on board. Hence it appears that the purpose (*illocutionary point*; Searle, 1979, p. 3) of both invitations and orders is to change the situation of the addressee. The categorization under directive speech acts indicates what the two have in common, but to date, no clear analysis has indicated what their fundamental differences are. In the above examples, power seems to play an important role, but this may only be apparent.

Considering that the imperative mood is related to orders and requests in traditional grammars (e.g., Butt & Benjamin, 2000, Section 17.1) it makes sense to classify invitations and orders under one category . At the same time, the imperative is exceedingly commonly used to not only construct orders, but also to perform other speech acts (Austin, Urmson, & Sbisà, 1975, p. 73). In many languages, for instance, invitation speech acts are performed in the imperative mood, as in (3) and (4):

(3) Come [IMPERAT] in (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99)

(4) Please come [IMPERAT] in, Sir (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 101)

Although in the latter example the imperative mood is softened by some respect terms, the imperative verb form is not preceded by an explicit performative verb in first person singular of the present indicative active, as is the case in (5):

[48] If the illocutionary act is taken as the basic unit of analysis, then five general ways of using language are distinguished (Searle, 1979, p. viii). Besides the category of directive speech acts, these are *commissives* (e.g., the act of promising; Searle, 1979, p. 14), *expressives* (e.g., making apologies; Searle, 1979, p. 15), *assertives* (e.g., swearing; Searle, 1979, p. 12), and *declarations* (e.g., marrying a couple; Searle, 1979, p. 16). We are aware of the fact that revisions have been proposed to refine Searle's taxonomy of speech acts (e.g., Hancher, 1979, p. 13). Yet, for the purpose of this dissertation, the classification into five general ways of using language seems to be sufficient to explain the basic functioning of linguistic communication.

(5) I invite [IND] you to come in

Functionally, the pragmatic message expressed by (3) and (4) is as clear as the one expressed by (5). Yet, theoretically, it remains ambiguous how (3) and (4) are to be taken, since there are no formal means to distinguish these utterances from orders, as is indeed the case with regard to (5) (cf. Austin et al., 1975, pp. 32-33; Hancher, 1979, p. 7).[49]

In the past decades, the difference between a literal sentence meaning and a speaker's utterance meaning, or the pragmatic implied message, has been extensively addressed (see, for example, Austin et al., 1975; Eslami, 2005; Hancher, 1979; Searle, 1969, 1975, 1978, 1979, amongst others). Illustrative examples are the sentences that are not imperative idioms, but that nevertheless function as forms of idiomatic orders or requests. The utterance in (6), for instance, is conventionally taken as a request to pass the salt when heard at the dinner table:

(6) Can you pass the salt, please? (Searle, 1979, p. 39)

Literally, (6) is a question if someone is able to pass the salt to which the answer could be 'yes' or 'no'. As such, it does not entail any imperative force as part of its meaning (see Section 1.4.3 for an explanation of how speakers can derive the primary illocutionary act – a request to pass the salt – from the secondary illocutionary act – a question whether this is possible). Yet, less attention have been paid to the cases that actually do include an imperative force, but that do not necessarily function as idiomatic orders, as the invitations in (3) and (4) have illustrated. In the absence of an explicit performative formula, and without a linguistic difference between orders and invitations, it is assumed that the context will play an important role in clarifying how the utterance is to be taken (Searle, 1969, p. 30).

In order to study the contextual elements that may lead to one or another interpretation of the imperative mood, in the present chapter a qualitative analysis of the meaning of the speech act verbs of 'to order' and 'to invite' will be conducted (Wierzbicka, 1987). The analysis will result in an amended model of both directive

[49] Since the directive aspect of invitations is not always clear, Hancher (1979) speaks of these kinds of speech acts as "naturel vehicles for social and psychological equivocation" (p. 7).

speech acts. The new models will show a changing role of the beneficiary in relation to the interlocutors with each of the speech acts. It will be argued that the difference in beneficiary is essential for the interpretation of an imperative utterance as either an order or an invitation. This insight is crucial in our attempt to understand how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. In the remainder of this chapter we will first discuss the main theoretical concepts. Second, the obtained results from the qualitative analysis will be presented. Third, a hypothesis about the notion of the beneficiary will be formulated, which will result in an amended model of both directive speech acts. Finally, a conclusion will be drawn, including the limitations of the study, and recommendations will be made for further research.

3.2 Some theoretical Considerations

Central to this chapter are the uses of language in which the utterance of a sentence simultaneously is the performance of an action (*performative utterances*; Austin et al., 1975, p. 6). As has already been argued, speakers do not need to utter the words 'I invite', as to indicate that they are actually performing an invitation. The *implicit* performative utterances, such as the imperative invitation in (3), will receive specific interest (cf. Austin et al., 1975, p. 32).

Language, then, is seen as a quite unrefined human instrument of communication in this dissertation (see Section 1.4). Language is unrefined in the sense that it never actually encodes the message the speaker aims to transmit. It only provides the interlocutor with certain hints and some instructions for constructing the message (Reid, 2006, p. 23). Furthermore, language is a typical *human* instrument of communication in the sense that interlocutors, due to their intelligence, are able to infer the message of an utterance on the basis of scarce information, or even when the literal meaning of the utterance points to something else (Diver et al., 2012, p. 446; Reid, 2006, p. 23). For example, speakers may use different verbal constructions to express varying degrees of power and solidarity towards the interlocutor (see Section 2.1.1.1 for a description of power and solidarity in the relationship between speakers and interlocutors). For example, compare the imperative mood in the invitation in (3) with the indicative in (7):

(7) Why don't [IND] you come in?

The two examples have in common that a greater degree of precision than necessary is avoided in performing the invitation (*economy of effort* principle; Diver et al., 2012, p. 446). Without further ado, the imperative mood in (3) directly indicates an order. Similarly, (7) is, in fact, a question to which the obvious answer could be, for instance, 'Because I'm in a hurry' (see Section 2.2 for an analysis of these kinds of linguistic structures and their pragmatic implications).

Hence, a linguistic utterance is an intent of the speaker to get an intended message across, hoping that the interlocutor gets the hints he provides him with. Whether or not the communication proceeds successfully is not only dependent on the interlocutor's ability to make inferences, but also depends on the ability of the speaker to judge an interlocutor's knowledge of the intended message (Diver et al., 2012, p. 479). For example, when there is a risk that the interlocutor may not want to receive an invitation, for instance because he has a higher social status than the speaker or because he is in a hurry, speakers may opt to be indirect in inviting (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99). An utterance containing a negative question, as in (7), is commonly used to propose an activity to the interlocutor (Matte Bon, 1995, p. 319). It has certain linguistic characteristics to redress the imposition of the invitation (see Section 2.2.3.2 for a discussion of this linguistic strategy). In other situations, on the other hand, it is assumed that the firmer the invitation, the more polite it is. Interlocutors supposedly are more willing to accept firm invitations, such as the ones performed in imperative mood (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99).

And so, the imperative mood is not only commonly used to construct orders, but also to perform invitations. Moreover, it has been shown that the illocutionary point of orders equals that of invitations. Both speech acts are an attempt to influence the interlocutor's future actions. Yet, there is a difference between both speech acts in the degree to which the speaker intends to influence the interlocutor's behavior (*illocutionary force*; Searle, 1979, p. 3). Orders are considered to be fierce attempts, whereas invitations are only modest attempts to get the interlocutor to do something (Searle, 1979, p. 13). An analysis of the meaning of orders and invitations will now be conducted to investigate how speakers and interlocutors can recognize the difference in illocutionary force with regard to both speech acts, that is how they can differentiate between orders and invitations, if one and the same linguistic form can be used in the performance of these acts.

3.3 Qualitative Analysis of two Directive Speech Acts

In our attempt to understand how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality we use two directive speech acts as the basic units of analysis: the invitation as an expression of hospitality, and its counterpart, the order as a rather hostile act (See Section 1.1). The schematic representations of speech act verbs, such as the ones provided by Wierzbicka (1987), allow for a detailed comparison of the individual components of the meaning of invitations and orders. Because 'to order' and 'to invite' may be used in different ways, several definitions may be attributed to them (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 4). In what follows, the intended definition is firstly determined. Then, the speech act verbs are examined on the level of the steps necessary to derive their meaning. These steps are taken from the point of view of the speaker, who is referred to in the first person singular pronoun 'I'.[50] Furthermore, 'X' refers to the action the speaker tries to cause the interlocutor to perform.

To start with 'to order', for instance, a 'thing' such as food can be ordered from a menu in a restaurant (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 38). In addition, also something intangible as festivities can be ordered. For example, after having suffered shipwreck, Columbus is invited by Guacanagari, the chief of the inhabitants of the island of Hispaniola, to come to his residence.[51] "They were attended", so it is described, "by upwards of a thousand of the natives, all perfectly naked; who performed several national games and dances, which Guacanagari had ordered, to amuse the melancholy of his guest." (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 127). In other situations, such as the ordering-encounter in (2) has already illustrated, a person is ordered to do something (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 38). The meaning of 'to order' as referred to in the latter context is meant here. Wierzbicka (1987) describes 'to order' as in (8):

(8) a. I assume you understand that you have to do what I say I want you to do
b. I say: I want you to cause X to happen
c. I say this because I want to cause you to do it

[50] Importantly, speakers will not consciously go through the steps when performing a speech act, nor will interlocutors infer the conveyed message by systematically analyzing the sentence they hear. In contrast, they supposedly "jump to conclusions" (Contini-Morava, 1995, p. 17) on a minimum of information, an ability that has been related to human intelligence, as has been discussed in Section 1.4.3.

[51] Hispaniola is at present known as the island of La Española, including Haiti and the Dominican Republic.

d. I assume that you will do it because of that (Wierzbicka, 1987, pp. 37-38; numbering ours)

Clearly, when giving an order (cf. 8b), the speaker wants to influence the future action of the interlocutor (cf. 8c). Important in this regard is that the speaker assumes that the interlocutor will understand the imperative force of the utterance (cf. 8a). It is this component of 'to order' that shapes the relation of power. It implies that the speaker supposes that the interlocutor might not take the action without receiving the specific instructions to do so. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the interlocutor will obey and have his actions be influenced by the speaker (cf. 8d).

Similarly, for the speech act of inviting Wierzbicka (1987) also describes a theoretical protocol, like inviting questions by the chair of a meeting (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 82).[52] In general, speakers perform an invitation, such as asking someone to come to a place. Both definitions contain an element of 'to allow', consider 'to allow questions' and 'to allow someone to come to a place'. That is to say, the speaker offers the interlocutor room to speak and a place to stay respectively. But, in the latter case, the speaker will be the host of the interlocutor in the specific place (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 82). It is this definition of 'to invite' that is in discussion here. Wierzbicka (1987) describes 'to invite' as in (9):

(9) a. I assume that people can't do X if I don't say that I would want them to do it
b. I think it would be good for you to be able to do it
c. I say: I would want you to do X if you wanted to do it
d. I say this because I want to cause you to do it if you want to do it
e. I don't know if you will do it
f. I assume that you don't have to do it
g. I assume that you would want to do it (Wierzbicka, 1987, pp. 81-82; numbering ours)

[52] Similarly, the analysis of radio phone-in conversations presented in Chapter 4 shows a radio host inviting the callers to comment upon a certain topic.

In comparison to (8), it takes Wierzbicka (1987) almost twice the steps to derive the meaning of 'to invite' in (9). Characteristic of invitations is the need for a certain permission to carry out an action (cf. 9a). Only by courtesy of the speaker can the interlocutor perform the action. This component of invitations implies the sense of authority − albeit kind of watered down − characteristic of directive speech acts. In addition, the speaker assumes that the action may be to the benefit of the interlocutor (cf. 9b), and therefore, that the interlocutor may have interest in undertaking the action (cf. 9g). In any case, the speaker does not oblige the interlocutor to take the action (cf. 9f). He assumes that the interlocutor will only carry out the action when he feels like doing so and/or when this is in his interest (cf. 9d). That means, that with regard to the performance of invitations (cf. 9c), it is uncertain whether the interlocutor will let his behavior be influenced by the speaker (cf. 9e).

3.3.1 Discussion: Similarities and differences between orders and invitations

A comparison of the steps taken in (8) with the ones presented in (9) illustrates how the directive illocutionary point of 'to order' resembles that of 'to invite'. The purpose of both speech acts is to influence the behavior of the interlocutor. Yet, it also reveals how orders and invitations differ in illocutionary force. The former speech acts are fierce attempts to get the interlocutor to do something. The speaker giving an order is supposedly in a position to control the behavior of the person addressed (Brown & Gilman, 1968, p. 254). Orders are typically performed in asymmetric social relationships, in which one speaker has power over another. An example of a power-based relationship would be the one between superiors and inferiors, such as the one between Columbus and his crew in the ordering-encounter in (2). The latter speech acts, in contrast, are only modest attempts to get the interlocutor to do something. The invitation as an act of hospitality, by which someone is asked to come to a place or event, implies the willingness of the speaker to welcoming the other (see Section 1.2 for a discussion of hospitality).

The speaker performing an invitation thus expresses that the interlocutor is welcome to his group. Because this element of 'welcoming' in invitations belongs to the category of expressive speech acts, the origin of these directive speech acts is expressive-related, rather than power-based. The general purpose of expressives is not to influence the interlocutor's behavior, but to express the truth about a state of affairs, such as a certain thought or feeling (Hancher, 1979, p. 3; Searle, 1979, p. 15;

for an overview of the five identified ways of using language including some examples, see also Section 3.1, note 48). The expressive-related origin of invitations may be originated in the combination of two components. The first component is the assumption of nothe speaker that the action may be to the benefit of the interlocutor (cf. 9b). The second component is the assumption that, for that reason, the interlocutor may have interest in doing the action (cf. 9g). Moreover, welcoming implies that the speaker has 'good feelings' towards the interlocutor (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 220).[53] Hence, invitations are performed in order to get the interlocutor to take a certain action, yet this attempt becomes blurred by the generous intentions of the speaker.

In sum, the speaker plays an important role in the future action of the interlocutor, although this differs between both speech acts. That is, the speaker assumes that the interlocutor will not perform a certain action without having given him an order to do so, whereas the interlocutor may not carry out an action without the speaker having invited him to do so. Nonetheless, the comparison is to some extent unsatisfactory, since other directive speech acts reveal the same similarities and differences. Also requests and commands resemble one another in illocutionary point, but differ in illocutionary force (Searle, 1979, p. 3). Similarly, it has been argued that to invite someone to take a certain action is a more modest attempt compared to cases in which the speaker insists that the interlocutor does something (Searle, 1979, p. 13). Then again, if orders and invitations are classified under one and the same category, and simultaneously, they are considered to be clearly different, there must be another, defining aspect that makes the difference. It will be argued below that the changing role of the beneficiary may be a crucial factor.

3.4 Hypothesis about the changing Role of the Beneficiary

The analysis has illustrated the power-based origin versus the expressive-related origin of orders and invitations respectively. To start with, the meaning of 'to invite' includes the compassionate belief that it would be good for the interlocutor to take a certain action. In other words, invitations are thought to be primarily beneficial to the

[53] At least, this is the case when the *cooperative principle* (Grice, 1991, p. 26) is taken as a norm which governs all interpersonal communication (see also Sections 1.4.3 and 1.5.1).

interlocutor (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 82).[54] This insight is embraced in this chapter. The speaker who is performing an invitation not only intends to manipulate the interlocutor into a certain situation, but also himself. He commits himself to a future action that is thought to be beneficial to the interlocutor, such as receiving and entertaining the interlocutor, and providing him food and drinks (cf. Eslami, 2005, p. 454-455).[55] Most importantly, the interlocutor has the right to turn down the invitation without suffering any consequences (Wierzbicka, 1987, p. 82). And so, the apparent beneficiary of invitations is the interlocutor.

Orders, in contrast, do not pretend to leave any freedom for the interlocutor to decide for himself whether he will allow his actions to be influenced by the speaker. Obviously, in practice, it is up to the interlocutor to decide whether he will respond with obedience or not. Yet, in case of a negation, he will probably have to face the, most likely negative, consequences. The speaker who is giving an order is not worried about an interlocutor's interest in the action, since the speech act is probably performed to meet the speaker's needs. Since the speaker acts basically to his own advantage and is not concerned about the interlocutor, he appears to be the only beneficiary of the speech act.[56] This insight has been overlooked. In fact, precisely the contrast in beneficiary appears to lie at the very heart of the difference between invitations and orders. Although other authors (cf. Eslami, 2005; Hancher, 1979) already pointed to this issue,[57] the changing role of the beneficiary is of more fundamental importance than has been assumed previously in existing literature: in our view, it is crucial in understanding how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. Therefore, an amended model of orders and invitations will now be presented.

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[54] 'Primarily' is used here, since it can be argued that, in some situations, invitations are performed in the interest of the speaker. When the interlocutor clearly has a higher social status than the speaker, for instance, a speaker's positive face is enhanced by acceptance of the invitation.

[55] As such, it may even be argued that invitations are partly commissive related, since the purpose of commissive speech acts, such as promising, is to commit the speaker to a certain action (Searle, 1979, p. 14). For this reason, Hancher (1979) denominates invitations as "commissive directives" (p. 6).

[56] It can be argued that in some situations the beneficiary of orders may (also) be the interlocutor. For instance, when parents order their children to do their homework, the short-term beneficiaries supposedly are the parents. In addition, the order clearly is for the long-term benefit of the child. Yet, the situations in which the beneficiary seems to be twofold (see also Section 3.5) are beyond the scope of this chapter.

[57] I am indebted to Kees Hengeveld for drawing my attention to these references.

3.4.1 Amended model of orders and invitations

Hence, it appears that there is a fundamental difference in the identity of the beneficiary in relation to the interlocutors with each of the speech acts. In Table 3.1 an overview is given of the hypothesized beneficiary, speaker or interlocutor, for orders and invitations.

Table 3.1 Hypotheses about the Beneficiary of Orders and Invitations

Speech act	Beneficiary
Order	Speaker
Invitation	Interlocutor

Table 3.1 shows that an order is performed in the interest of the speaker, whereas the performance of invitations is in the interlocutor's interest. Accordingly, the models of 'to order' and 'to invite' as originally provided by Wierzbicka (1987) are only adequate up to a certain degree. They seem to fail at some point, since the naturally present role of the beneficiary in orders is never expressed in the original model. Furthermore, in the original model of invitations the expressive part is not really there. It can only be derived from the combination of two individual components (cf. 9b and 9g). It is therefore proposed to slightly adapt the meaning of both speech act verbs in the present chapter, as to stress the notion of the beneficiary within both models.

The adjusted model to derive the meaning of 'to order' is presented in (8'):

(8') a. I assume you understand that you have to do what I say I want you to do
b. I say: I want you to cause X to happen
C. I SAY THIS BECAUSE IT IS IN MY INTEREST THAT YOU DO IT
d. I assume that you will do it because of that (adapted from Wierzbicka, 1987, pp. 37-38; numbering and emphasis ours)

With regard to 'to order', the reason for performing an order, 'I say this because I want to cause you to do it' (cf. 8c), is replaced with a sentence explicitly stating that the performance of the speech act is beneficial to the speaker, 'I say this because it is in my interest that you do it' (cf. 8'c). All other steps in (8') resemble the steps of (8).

Similarly, the model of 'to invite' is adjusted; consider the steps in (9'):

(9') a. I assume that people can't do X if I don't say that I would want them to do it
b. I say: I would want you to do X if you wanted to do it
C. I SAY THIS BECAUSE I ASSUME THAT IT IS IN YOUR INTEREST TO DO IT
d. I don't know if you will do it
e. I assume that you don't have to do it (adapted from Wierzbicka, 1987, pp. 81-82; numbering and emphasis ours)

Likewise (8'), the reason for performing the invitation, 'I say this because I want to cause you to do it if you want to do it' (cf. 9d) is replaced with the alternative in (9'c), now explicitly expressing the beneficiary of the act, 'I say this because I assume that it is in your interest to do it'. The sentences expressing the speaker's thought, 'I think it would be good for you to be able to do it' (cf. 9b) and 'I assume that you would want to do it' (cf. 9g) have now become redundant, and have therefore been omitted in (9'). Consequently, the meaning of 'to invite' in (9') includes two steps fewer compared to (9).

The omission of steps (8c), (9b), (9d) and (9g), as well as the introduction of steps (8'c) and (9'c) result in an amended model for orders and invitations. The beneficiary role in relation to one of the interlocutors now clearly differentiates both speech acts. In order to test whether the notion of the beneficiary is indeed a distinguishing aspect of the directive speech acts of ordering and inviting, let us consider once again the inviting-encounter in (1) and the ordering-encounter in (2). We have argued above that the invitation in (1) could be replaced with an alternative sentence indicating an order, whereas the order in (2) could be easily replaced with an invitation. Moreover, we questioned whether the alternatives to (1) and (2) would also be pragmatically adequate. In other words, the question is why the authors decided to use 'to invite' with regard to the encounter in (1), but 'to order' with regard to (2).

Provided that we will never know for certain, we assume that the authors intuitively applied both speech act verbs based on the context in which the encounters took place. Columbus, eager to find gold and to become famous, travelled alongside the Caribbean coast. Since he needed the inhabitants of the Caribbean islands to collaborate in his search for gold, he tried to gain their trust by giving them gifts, as the ordering-encounter in (2) already revealed. According to the authors, "Such were the gentle and sage precautions continually taken by Columbus, to impress the natives

favourably. […] This kindness had the desired effect." (Irving, 1981, p. 99). Here, Columbus clearly is the intended beneficiary, and therefore, he supposedly ordered his men to take the Indian on board.

On the other hand, the generous attitude of the native populations towards the Spanish seamen, as illustrated by the provision of fruit and water in the inviting-encounter in (1), identifies the Spanish seamen as the intended beneficiaries. According to the authors, "Hospitality was with them [the native populations] a law of nature universally observed; there was no need of being known, to receive its succours; every house was as open to the stranger as his own." (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 119). Columbus and his crew thus experienced the encounters with the Indians to be remarkably hospitable. Therefore, the election for inviting seems to be pragmatically adequate here.[58]

Hence, the interchangeability of invitations and orders, as illustrated by the inviting-encounter in (1) and the ordering-encounter in (2), is indeed only apparent. Initially, the Spaniards and the natives of the Caribbean islands communicated by means of "signs and imperfect interpretations" (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 132), due to the lack of a common language. It is the question, however, to what extent their non-verbal communication differs from contemporary verbal human interaction. Still, the success of communication is partly dependent on the interlocutor's ability to make the right inferences, as has been stated earlier. Most importantly, if the interlocutor is able to infer the intended beneficiary of the speech act from the context, it may explain how an imperative utterance is interpreted as an invitation, rather than as an order.

3.5 And the Beneficiary is…

This chapter has addressed the discrepancy between speech acts and the linguistic forms involved to construct these acts. The problem to be solved was how it is possible that invitations – expressions of hospitality – have an imperative force as part

[58] It can be argued, though, that the hospitality of the natives towards the Spaniards was partly driven by the fact that they had never seen blank men before. Consequently, instead of recognizing them as the colonizers they turned out to be, they mistook them for divine "inhabitants of the skies" (Irving & MacElroy, 1981, p. 94).

of their meaning, but do not function as idiomatic orders – in contrast to invitations rather hostile acts.

We derived the meaning of 'to invite' and compared this with the meaning of 'to order' to shed light on the issue of how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. It appeared that there is a fundamental difference in the identity of the BENEFICIARY in relation to the interlocutors with each of the speech acts. In line with previous studies, it was argued that invitations are intended to be beneficial to the interlocutor. In addition, we found that orders are mainly performed in the interest of the speaker. It was stated, moreover, that the changing role of the beneficiary is of more fundamental importance than has been assumed so far. As a result, the models of 'to order' and 'to invite', as originally provided by Wierzbicka (1987), were slightly amended in the present chapter. In the new models, the beneficiary of the speech act, − interlocutor for invitations, and speaker for orders −, plays a key role.

The proposed models seem to resolve the apparent difficulty of theoretically distinguishing between orders and invitations. The changing role of the beneficiary is crucial in understanding how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality: if the interlocutor is able to infer the intended beneficiary from the context, it explains how a directive speech act using the same linguistic form, the imperative mood, may be interpreted as an invitation, despite its linguistic form. What is more, this insight provides an explanation for the fact that speakers may even use apparently HOSTILE language in order to be hospitable (cf. the qualitative analysis of hospitality situations presented in Section 2.2.2). It is the identification of the intended beneficiary that plays a decisive role in the derivation of the pragmatic message of an utterance in the communication between hosts and guests and overrules any hostile interpretation of the message.

Although our findings suggest that a fundamental difference between orders and invitations is the beneficiary, it can be argued that the notion of the beneficiary is not solely relevant to isolate specifically the speech act of inviting from that of ordering. Also for other kinds of directive speech acts that are not intrinsically related to hospitality situations, such as warnings, a beneficiary can be identified.[59] At the end

[59] Mulder (1998, pp. 208-209) also addresses this issue by the classification of directive speech acts into five categories (see also Section 1.1, note 2).

of an escalator, for instance, a warning is commonly given to prevent the walker from falling, as in (10):

(10) Watch [IMPERAT] your step[60]

Also here, the imperative mood seems to be used in the interest of the interlocutor, but there is clearly no implied invitation. Second, one can imagine situations in which there are multiple beneficiaries of directive speech acts. For example, Mulder (1998, p. 209) mentions a situation in which the beneficiary is twofold. When a teacher tells his pupil to pay attention, the teacher himself may be the beneficiary in the short-term. The long-term beneficiary of such a decree, however, is the pupil. Another example, which seems to be more closely related to a hospitality situation, would be the proposal in (11):

(11) Let's [INCLUSIVE] have a coffee

In (11), 'Let's' is an inclusive 'we' form (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 127). As such, it includes both the speaker and the interlocutor in the action, supposedly, to suggest "for our mutual benefit" (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 203).[61] Third, the proposed models may be appropriate to distinguish theoretically between orders and invitations, on the basis of which hospitable language usage may be inferred. The question is, however, how speakers can differentiate between both speech acts in practice. In Section 5.4 we will reflect on this issue.

Altogether, in this chapter it was shown that the meaning of an invariant linguistic form – the imperative mood – may lead to different interpretations and thus to various communicated messages – an order or an invitation (cf. Diver et al., 2012, p. 53). With regard to hospitality, this means that the identification of the intended beneficiary of the speech act plays a decisive role in the interpretation of hospitable language usage. And so, in line with our hypothesis presented in Section 1.5.4, we

[60] This utterance was heard at Schiphol International Airport, the Netherlands, July 2016.
[61] Although this is only the case when the speaker feels like having a coffee, and when he assumes that the same may go for the interlocutor. In other situations, the mutual 'we' is only used to be polite, since what is really meant may be 'you' or 'I' (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 203).

conclude that hospitality, considered from a pragmalinguistic perspective, appears to be a strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

Yet, so far, there does not appear to be a direct relation between the pragmatic message of an utterance that is expressed by means of speech acts on the one hand, and the linguistic forms on the other. An empirical analysis of the language usage in hospitality situations, and its discussion in relation to the beneficiary, might shed additional light on this issue. Consequently, in Chapter 4 we will investigate whether the difference in beneficiary is reflected in different linguistic strategies applied by the host who is trying to influence the guest's behavior in the interest of either the host herself or the guest. And so, we aim to find independent support for our hypothesis that hospitality is a strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

Chapter 4

Testing the changing role of the beneficiary in hospitality situations

Abstract

In this chapter, we seek to find empirical support for our hypothesis that was further developed in Chapter 3 that hospitality is a strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. To this end, we study conversations from a radio phone-in talk show, in which callers can phone-in to voice their opinion to the host of the show. We argue that callers are the beneficiaries in the opening of the conversations, whereas the host is the beneficiary in the closing of the conversations. Moreover, we hypothesize that this shift in beneficiary is reflected in the use of different linguistic strategies applied by the host. To test our hypotheses, we created a corpus of 32 radio phone-in conversations and analyzed this in two steps. First, we qualitatively analyze one radio phone-in conversation that can be considered as typical for the conversations in the entire corpus. We find that conversations consist of an opening, a body, and a closing; we identify where these parts begin and end, and we reveal the common linguistic strategies used in each part. Second, we statistically test our hypotheses. In line with our expectations, we find that the host uses significantly more imperative mood conjugations per turn in the opening than in the closing of the conversation. Also, the host uses significantly more gift-giving speech acts per turn in the closing than in the opening. In addition, in conversations that follow the standard structure that was identified in the first step, we find that the host uses fewer words in the opening than in the closing, reflecting the presumed shift in beneficiary from the callers to the host. Together, these findings substantially enhance our understanding of how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality.

4.1 Setting the Scene

In many languages invitation speech acts are performed in imperative mood (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99), see the slogan of a Dutch University of Applied Sciences in (1):

(1) *Kom verder. Saxion* 'Step up to Saxion' (https://www.saxion.nl)

In both the Dutch and the English version of the slogan, the imperative mood is used to construct an invitation to join Saxion. Moreover, the Dutch slogan also indicates a promise (cf. 'join Saxion and you will make progress') when emphasis is placed on *verder* lit. 'further'. It can thus be interpreted as both the directive speech act of inviting and the assertive speech act of promising.[62] Problematically, in literature, the imperative mood has been defined as prototypical of directive speech acts (Haverkate, 2002, pp. 18-20; see Section 2.1.2.3 for a description of the imperative mood), but not of assertive speech acts. Moreover, in traditional grammars (e.g., Butt & Benjamin, 2000, Section 17.1), the imperative mood is not related to invitations and certainly not to promises, but to orders and requests (see Section 3.1 for a discussion of the dichotomy between the meaning of the imperative mood and the pragmatic message it conveys). In this chapter, we will further investigate how the meaning of an invariant linguistic form may lead to various communicated messages in hospitality situations.

In Section 3.1, it was argued that the categorization under directive speech acts indicates what orders (rather hostile acts) and invitations (expressions of hospitality) have in common. The purpose of both speech acts is to influence the behavior of the interlocutor (Searle, 1979, p. 13). Simultaneously, it was claimed that no clear analysis had indicated so far what the fundamental differences are between the speech acts of ordering and inviting. A qualitative analysis of the meaning of the speech acts verbs 'to order' and 'to invite' (Wierzbicka, 1987) was therefore conducted (see Section 3.3). There was shown to be a fundamental difference in the identity of the BENEFICIARY in relation to the interlocutors with each of the speech acts. That is,

[62] Unfortunately, the English version of the slogan does not imply such a promise, which once again illustrates the importance of language.

the performance of invitations is mainly in the interlocutor's interest, whereas orders are generally performed in the speaker's interest. Furthermore, it was argued that if the interlocutor is able to infer the intended beneficiary from the context, it may explain why this is a decisive aspect in the interpretation of a speech act, rather than its linguistic form. Based on these insights, the original models as proposed by Wierzbicka (1987) were slightly amended in the previous chapter (see Section 3.4.1). The amended models revealed that the role of the beneficiary might be crucial in understanding how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. It is the identification of the intended beneficiary that plays a decisive role in the derivation of the pragmatic message of an utterance in the communication between hosts and guests and overrules any hostile interpretation of the message.

In the present chapter, we will provide empirical support for our hypothesis that hospitality is a strategy that aims to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. To that purpose, the communication between host and callers from a Spanish radio phone-in talk show will be analyzed. The reason for choosing radio phone-in conversations as the basis for the analyses is threefold. First, radio phone-in conversations represent micro hospitality situations in which the caller 'visits' the host by phone. Second, the characteristically short duration of radio phone-in conversations allows us to analyze a relatively high number of this kind of hospitality situations. Third, in radio phone-in conversations there is no (undesired) interference with other elements such as gesture and mimic, since only the auditory part of the conversation is available.

In radio phone-in talk shows the host acts to grant callers access to and subsequently remove them from the air (Hutchby, 1991, p. 132). The host needs to influence the caller's behavior in order to successfully adhere to the time constraints of the talk show, preferably without being offensive. More specifically, the caller's needs with regard to positive and negative face maintenance (cf. the need to be appreciated by others and to not be impeded by others respectively) need to be addressed. Since every speech act is a potential face-threatening act, as has been argued earlier (see Section 1.4.2), hosts need to carefully choose the linguistic strategies to grant callers access to and to remove them from the air.

Our assumption is that the shift in beneficiary, from caller in the opening to host in the closing, is reflected in a behavioral change of the host in terms of the linguistic strategies that are used within both conversation parts. If our assumption

that hospitality is a strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary is correct, we expect to find a number of linguistic elements in the radio phone-in conversations that concretize the supposed difference in beneficiary. We will focus on imperative mood conjugations, gift-giving speech acts, and the number of words used per turn to empirically test the changing role of the beneficiary and its reflection in different linguistic strategies applied by the speaker – the host who is trying to influence the guest's behavior for the benefit of either the guest or the host herself.

4.1.1 Using imperative mood conjugations when the caller is the beneficiary

In conversations, an interlocutor's negative face is threatened by the use of the imperative mood. Particularly speech acts in imperative mood, such as the invitation in (1), are direct attempts to influence the interlocutor's behavior. Yet, when the face-threatening act is mainly in the interlocutor's interest, there is no direct need to minimize the threat. Even more, it has been argued that in actually performing a face-threatening act, the speaker shows that he knows about the interlocutor's needs. As such, the interlocutor's positive face is enhanced (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 98). And so, in some situations, especially firm invitations are considered to be polite (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99). More specifically, with regard to the opening of the radio phone-in conversations under analysis, it is assumed that the caller expects to be invited. Therefore, the host can be very direct in offering the caller room to speak without making the caller lose face. In contrast, with regard to the closing of the conversation, the host needs to consider the caller's face while intruding in his behavior. Therefore, it is assumed that the host will not openly tell the caller to stop talking. Together, this implies the following hypothesis with regard to the imperative mood:

> HYPOTHESIS 1: The host will generally use more verb conjugations in imperative mood per turn in the opening than in the closing of the conversation.

4.1.2 Using gift-giving speech acts when the speaker is the beneficiary

Similar to the invitation to speak, the attempt to stop the caller talking is a threat to the caller's negative face. The difference, however, is that getting the caller to stop talking is mainly in the interest of the speaker. Therefore, the face-threatening act

needs to be minimized. It is the host's responsibility to adhere to the time limit and, simultaneously, to collect valuable input from as many callers as possible. Therefore, instead of openly telling the caller to stop talking (e.g., by means of the imperative mood), it is assumed that the host will only vaguely hint at ending the conversation. She will recur to the linguistic strategy of *gift-giving* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129) to explicitly enhance the caller's positive face. That is, the expression of understanding (e.g., by means of speech acts expressing agreement, such as *Vale* 'O.K.'), cooperation (e.g., an indication that the caller's comments are being written down), and sympathy (e.g., by thanking the caller and saying good bye) are supposed to be relevant to the closing of a call (see Appendix 4.1 for an overview of the coding of linguistic elements into gift-giving speech acts in this chapter). This leads us to the following hypothesis with regard to what we will call here 'gift-giving speech acts':

> HYPOTHESIS 2: The host will generally use more gift-giving speech acts per turn in the closing than in the opening of the conversation.

4.1.3 Number of words used per turn as an indicator of the intended beneficiary

We have argued above that the host will be direct in offering the caller room to speak in the opening, but that she will only indirectly hint at ending the conversation in the closing. We expect that this will not only be reflected in the use of different linguistic strategies, but also in the number of words used per turn. In general, we expect that a speaker will be more wordy in the end, when choosing his words carefully than in the beginning, when the message can be brought more straightforwardly. This leads us to our third hypothesis:

> HYPOTHESIS 3: The host will generally use more words per turn in the closing than in the opening of the conversation.

4.1.4 Overview of analyses

To test our hypotheses, we have created a corpus of radio phone-in conversations which we will analyze in two steps. First, we will define the different parts that make up a conversation and identify the most common linguistic strategies used in each of these parts. To do so, we will qualitatively analyze one radio phone-in conversation that can be considered as typical for the conversations in the entire corpus. Second,

we will statistically test our hypotheses. This allows us to generalize our findings to the entire population of radio phone-in conversations.

4.2 Step 1: Determining Conversation Parts and Linguistic Strategies

4.2.1 Description of corpus[63]

A corpus of 32 radio phone-in conversations between host and caller in Peninsular Spanish was created. The conversations were drawn from *Julia en la Onda* 'Julia on the Wave' (translation ours), which is a daily radio phone-in talk show hosted by Julia Otero at the Spanish radio channel *Onda Cero* 'Wave Zero' (translation ours) (https://www.ondacero.es/programas/julia-en-la-onda/). By the end of each year, the listeners are invited to share their opinion about the radio program. Accordingly, the conversations were held between the host and callers who phoned in to express their opinion about the show. The conversations were held over a period of four years, between 2012 and 2015, with a similar setup and with the same host across these years. The conversations were recorded and could be played back on the website of *Onda Cero*. This allowed us to transcribe the 32 conversations, which resulted in a corpus of 907 turns.[64] The duration of these conversations was on average 1 min 62 s, and ranged from 20 s to 3 min 3 s.

4.2.2 Results Step 1

Although each of the 32 conversations was in part unique, there were also similarities between the conversations in terms of their organization. We isolated one typical example of a conversation between host and caller. In (2), the host starts the conversation by introducing the caller, Braulio. He is calling from Vigo, a city in the northwest of Spain:

[63] The corpus is accessible through:
https://osf.io/d6kw8/?view_only=3f0bfd66a6da4748a1b20a54d47fe5ad
I am indebted to Almudena González Gutiérrez de León for revisions in Spanish transcriptions and in translations into English.

[64] The enumeration of the utterances in the example of a conversation between host and caller in (2) is illustrative of how turns are counted in the corpus.

(2) 23 December 2015: 1 (27)[65]

1 Host: *A ver qué nos cuenta Braulio, en Vigo. Buenas tardes, Braulio* 'Let's see what Braulio in Vigo tells us. Good afternoon, Braulio'

2 Caller: *Muy buenas tardes señora* 'A very good afternoon madam'

3 Host: *Usted dirá caballero* 'let's see what you have to say, gentleman'

4 Caller: … *o señores [risa]* '… or ladies and gentlemen' [laughter]

5 Host: *Dígame, ¿qué le parece?* 'Tell me, what do you think?'

6 Caller: *Bueno, vamos a… vamos a empezar con una crítica porque… bueno yo supongo que el territorio de las Personas Físicas ehm… supongo que está estudiado y y se estudian el guión. Por eso me llama mucho más atención la risa tan extraordinariamente alocada del del chico* 'Well, let's… let's start with a critical remark because… well I suppose that the section of Physical Persons eh… I suppose that it is studied and that the script is being studied. That's why the extremely crazy laughter of the the guy is so strange to me'

7 Host: *Ya* 'I see'

8 Caller: *Que… que… a mí me parece absolutamente falsa. No no sé… si es preparado, la voz es absolutamente falsa. Y si es ehm así sorpresivo, hombre, la puede exagerar un poco menos, porque parece que se está el hombre destornillando* 'It… it… I think it's absolutely fake. I don't know… if it's prepared, the voice is absolutely fake. And eh if it's really spontaneous, well hey, then he could exaggerate it a little less, because it seems that the man splits his sides with laughter'

9 Host: *Ya ya* 'I see, I see'

10 Caller: *Se pierde bastante* 'it [the section] loses interest'

11 Host: *No no, le aseguro que de guión no es* 'No no, I assure you that it is not a script'

12 Caller: *Ah* 'Ah'

13 Host: *Eso sí puedo asegurar. Y es que Juan se ríe así, o sea se ríe como es él* 'I can assure you that. Juan just laughs like that, that is, he laughs as he is'

14 Caller: *Ah* 'Ah'

[65] This indicates that conversation (2) was held on the 23rd of December, 2015. It was the first phone-in conversation in the specific talk-show, and is identified with number 27 in the corpus. The indications that appear in the extracts below con be read in the same way.

15 Host: *Pero bueno. O sea usted usted quiere que se ría menos, vale* 'But well. So you you want him to laugh less, all right'
16 Caller: *Exactamente sí* 'Yes exactly'
17 Host: *Vale pues tomamos nota [risa]* 'O.K. well we take note of it' [laughter]
18 Caller: *Inclusive si no se ríe también va perfecto* 'Even if he doesn't laugh at all it's perfect as well'
19 Host: *Ya, vale* 'Yes, O.K.'
20 Caller: *Porque [risa]… sabe* 'Because [laughter]… you know'
21 Host: *Vale vale, pues venga, tomamos nota. ¿Qué más?* 'O.K. O.K., well come on, we take note of it. What else?'
22 Caller: *Va, eh yo creo que Monegal y el Territorio Negro son gente extraordinaria que tenía que estar siempre* 'Let's see, eh I think that Monegal and Black Territory are extraordinary people that should always be there'
23 Host: *Hmm* 'Hmm'
24 Caller: *Cualquiera de las dos en su valía yo creo que lo hacen extraordinariamente bien* 'I think that either of them in their own value are doing great'
25 Host: *Sí* 'Yes'
26 Caller: *Y en cuanto a los colaboradores, la verdad es que no no… no soporto a… a la señora Rahola y el señor Sardá* 'And concerning the collaborators, to be honest I can't… I can't stand… Mrs. Rahola and Mr. Sardá'
27 Host: *Ya* 'I see'
28 Caller: *Y… y Beni a pesar de que me parece una persona absolutamente culta y yo creo que solamente por su forma de expresarse debería de… de pensarse que… hombre eso hace daño a a los oídos de la gente, no sé. Ese atosigamiento en sus comentarios, y ese… ese cortar a todo el mundo y ese su voz por encima de todos los demás, me parece… me parece que no va con su… con su tono… cultural, ¿no?* 'And… and although Beni seems to me a very educated person, and I think that only for the way she expresses herself she should think that… well hey that hurts people's ears, I don't know. That harassment in her comments, and that… that way of interrupting others and having her voice above all others, it seems to me… it seems to me that it doesn't go with her… with her… educated tone, does it?'
29 Host: *Ya, bueno* 'I see, well'

30 Caller: *Bueno. Y… después, sin embargo, por ejemplo, Melchor Miralles me parece una… una persona extraordinaria, que siempre con unos comentarios bastante… atinados* 'Well. And… next, however, for example, Melchor Miralles seems to me a… an extraordinary person, who always has some quite… correct comments'

31 Host: *Sí* 'Yes'

32 Caller: *Y bueno, en general, la verdad es que me lo paso bien con vosotros. Así que la línea es… es buena pero prefiero decir lo que no me gusta tanto* 'And well, to be honest, in general I have a good time listening to you. So the line is… is good but I prefer to comment upon the things I don't like too much'

33 Host: *Claro, no no claro es que es lo que nos resulta más útil Braulio, se lo agradezco. Muy bien* 'Of course, no no of course that that turns out to be most useful Braulio, I appreciate that. Very well'

34 Caller: *Muy bien* 'Very well'

35 Host: *Pues hemos tomado nota. Gracias* 'Well, we have taken note of it. Thank you'

36 Caller: *Muchas gracias a vosotros. Hasta luego* 'Thank you too. See you later'

4.2.2.1 Moves

The conversation in (2) shows several moves. First, the host introduces the caller to the overhearing audience by identifying his first name and geographical location (*identification;* Hutchby, 1991, p. 120). As is characteristic of many radio phone-in conversations, this is the only personal information of the caller available to the listeners. It has been shared in a pre-conversation between the caller and a staff member of the radio program (cf. *Julia en la Onda*, 19 December 2013: 8 (17); Fitzgerald & Housley, 2002, pp. 589-590; Hutchby, 1991, p. 120; Thornborrow, 2001, p. 121). Then, the host uses a quite common greeting, which is eventually followed by a routine enquiry, such as *¿Qué tal?* 'How are you?' This move serves as an *invitation to speak* (Hutchby, 1991, p. 120) (cf. turn 1). The caller greets the host in return to confirm his presence ('confirmation of presence'; cf. turn 2). Once the caller has confirmed his presence, the host invites the caller to share his opinion about the program (*invitation to produce 'news'*; Hutchby, 1991, p. 121; cf. turns 3 and 5). This is the actual purpose for which access to the air has been granted to the caller.

Now, the caller initiates the topic he wants to discuss (*call validation*; Hutchby, 1991, p. 121) (cf. turn 6). The discussion of the topic is alternated with the host reacting to the caller's comments. She encourages the caller to elaborate upon the topic by expressing acceptance ('encouragement to speak'; e.g., turn 9). In other occasions, she contradicts the caller and clarifies the situation that is being discussed (e.g., turns 11 and 13 respectively). Subsequently, the discussion of the topic is wrapped up by the host (cf. turn 15). In addition, she states that the opinion of the caller is noted down (cf. turn 17). Apparently, the host wants the caller to comment on a few more aspects, as she explicitly asks for some more remarks (cf. turn 21). As such, a second round of comments is started. The caller brings in four more aspects he likes or dislikes about the program (cf. turns 22, 26, 28 and 30). Now and then, the host reacts by humming or expressing agreement (e.g., turns 23 and 25 respectively), supposedly, as encouragement for the caller to continue (cf. Ames, 2013, p. 271).

Subsequently, the caller wraps up by stating that in general he likes the program but that he prefers to comment on the things he does not like (cf. turn 32). The host reassures the caller that there is no need to apologize, and expresses her gratitude (*acknowledgement token*; Hutchby, 1991, p. 132) and agreement ('agreement') (cf. turn 33). The caller, in return, agrees with the host (cf. turn 34). The host states that the caller's comments have been noted down ('"news" processing') and once again thanks the caller (cf. turn 35). Finally, the caller expresses his gratitude in return, and brings the conversation to an end with a farewell greeting ('leave-taking') (cf. turn 36).

4.2.2.2 Conversation parts

The moves identified in the conversation in (2) can be classified into three conversation parts: an opening, a body, and a closing. First, the moves in turn 1 to 5 are identified as part of the opening. The purpose of the opening is to grant the caller access to the air and to let him start talking (cf. Hutchby, 1991, p. 132). Then, the move in turn 6 initiates the body of the conversation. The body consists of critical and positive remarks, and the caller's wishes with regard to specific participants or parts of the program. Finally, the closing starts with the move in turn 33. In the closing, the host needs to bring the conversation to an end and to remove the caller from the air (cf. Hutchby, 1991, p. 132). Table 4.1 shows the identified moves in (2) within the different conversation parts:

Table 4.1 Moves within Conversation Parts

Conversation part	Move	Speaker	*Example* 'English'
Opening	Identification	Host	*A ver qué nos cuenta Braulio, en Vigo* 'Let's see what Braulio in Vigo tells us'
	Invitation to speak	Host	*Buenas tardes, Braulio* 'Good afternoon, Braulio'
	Confirmation of presence	Caller	*Muy buenas tardes señora* 'A very good afternoon madam'
	Invitation to produce 'news'	Host	*Usted dirá caballero. Dígame, ¿qué le parece?* 'Let's see what you have to say, gentleman. Tell me, what do you think?'
Body	Call validation	Caller	*Bueno, vamos a… vamos a empezar con una crítica porque…* 'Well, let's… let's start with a critical remark because…'
	Encouragement to speak	Host	*Vale vale, pues venga, tomamos nota ¿Qué más?* 'O.K. O.K, well alright, we take note of it. What else?'
Closing	Agreement	Host/ Caller	*Muy bien* 'Very well'
	'News' processing	Host	*Pues hemos tomado nota* 'Well, we have taken note of it'
	Acknowledgement token	Host	*Gracias* 'Thank you'
		Caller	*Muchas gracias a vosotros* 'Thank you too'
	Leave-taking	Caller	*Hasta luego* 'See you later'

Table 4.1 displays similarities and differences between the conversation parts in the extent to which the caller's behavior is influenced. In the opening and closing, the host predominantly controls the turn-taking system. It is the host's task to open and close the call to adhere to the time constraints (cf. Ames, 2013, p. 266; Hutchby, 1991, p. 132; Thornborrow, 2001, p. 139). In the body, in contrast, the caller has certain freedom to act. Although the treatment of the caller's reason for calling is oriented by the host, it is the caller who actually produces substantive 'news' (cf. Hutchby, 1991, p. 121). The role of the host is reduced to reacting to the comments of the caller. Only the encouragements to speak are clear indications of the host's attempt to influence the caller's behavior.

4.2.2.3 Standard and deviant structure

Importantly, the sequence of the moves within the conversation parts as presented in Table 4.1 represents the general organization of the conversations in the corpus. Yet, some conversations show a deviance in structure of the conversation parts. The extract in (3), for instance, illustrates an extension of the opening of the conversation:

(3) 19 December 2012: 4 (4)

1 Host: *José Antonio, Madrid. Buenas tardes. Puede que sea la última llamada ya. Porque creo que… ¿Ha llegado el señor Junqueras? Aún no. Diga José Antonio, perdóneme* 'José Antonio, Madrid. Good afternoon. This could be the last call already. Because I think that… Has Mr. Junqueras arrived already? Not yet. Tell me José Antonio, excuse me'

2 Caller: *Sí, buena… buenas tardes* 'Yes, goo… good afternoon'

In (3), the conversation is opened with the identification of the caller, followed by an invitation to speak. Yet, in between the invitation to speak and the caller's response, the host seems to have some interaction with a staff member of the radio program. Subsequently, the host performs an invitation to produce 'news' (cf. turn 1). Only then the caller greets the host in return to confirm his presence (cf. turn 2).

Other cases show an extension of the closing of the conversation. In (4), for instance, the caller does not comply with the host's bid to bring the conversation to an end:

(4) 23 December 2015: 2 (28)

1 Caller: *Cuando haces una entrevista a un… investigador o a un científico, bueno eso ya es de órdago* 'The interviews you have with a… researcher or a scientist, well that's fantastic'

2 Host: *Vale pues nada, pues insistiremos. Muy bien* 'OK, well, we'll continue doing so. Very well'

3 Caller: *Bien* 'Good'

4 Host: *Gra… Gracias por llamarnos* 'Tha… Thank you for calling'

5 Caller: *¿Te puedo comentar dos cosas?* 'May I comment upon two things?'

6 Host: *Si p…, si es muy rápido sí, es que hay muchísimas llamadas, sabe* 'If p…, if it's very quickly yes, as there are a lot of phone calls, you know'

7 Caller: *Ehm… La la propuesta era de que en vez de tres horas dure cuatro el programa…* 'Ehm… The the proposal was that the program would have a duration of four instead of three hours…'

The extract in (4) shows the moves that are identified in Table 4.1 to bring the conversation to an end. The host expresses agreement on the discussed topic (cf. turn 1) and promises the caller to continue doing so (cf. turn 2), to which the caller agrees (cf. turn 3). Then, the host thanks the caller for his phone-call (cf. turn 4). However, the bid to ending the call is rejected by the caller, since he explicitly asks for more speaking time (cf. turn 5). The host cannot but agree, yet insists that the caller has to be brief in making his point (cf. turn 6). Subsequently, the caller continues sharing his opinion (cf. turn 7), which results in another 14 turns before the call is finally ended. Although the majority of the conversations (22 out of 32) are organized according to the moves presented in Table 4.1, these examples indicate that there are also conversations (these were 10 out of 32) that deviate from this structure.

4.2.2.4 Linguistic strategies

Differences are observed with regard to the linguistic structures that are used within the two conversation parts where there is most influence in behavior. In the opening, the host is being very direct in inviting the caller to produce 'news'. Table 4.1 illustrates that the invitation consists of (1) a verb conjugation in future tense (cf. *Usted dirá [FUT] caballero* 'let's see what you have to say [lit. 'you will say it'], gentleman'), (2) a conjugated verb in imperative mood (cf. *Dígame [IMPERAT]* 'Tell me'), and (3) a

sentence including an interrogative word (cf. *¿qué [INTER] le parece?* 'what do you think?'). In the closing, in contrast, the attempt to stop the caller talking is carefully carried out. Elements related to *gift-giving* strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129) that enhance the caller's positive face are used to bring the conversation to an end, such as the expression of understanding (cf. *Muy bien* 'Very well'), cooperation (cf. *Pues hemos tomado nota* 'Well, we have taken note of it'), and sympathy (cf. *Gracias* 'Thank you'). In general, the host successfully acts to grant callers access to the air in the opening, and effectively removes them from the air in the closing, meanwhile gathering as much valuable input as possible.

4.2.3 Conclusions Step 1

Three conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. First, a typical radio phone-in conversation consists of three parts: opening, body, and closing. All turns ranging from the first turn, in which the host identifies the caller, to the turn in which the caller initiates the topic he wants to discuss, belong to the opening of the conversation. All turns running from this turn to the turn in which either the host or the caller takes the initiative to end the conversation are considered as belonging to the body of the conversation. The remaining turns are classified as belonging to the closing of the conversation. In deviant cases, the opening or closing of the conversation is extended by either the host or the caller.

Second, most behavioral influence occurs in the opening and closing. The host acts to initially grant callers access to and to subsequently remove them from the air. As such, the organization of the radio phone-in conversation is predominantly managed by the host in these parts.

Third, the host uses different linguistic strategies in the opening and closing of the conversation. In the opening, the host is being very direct in giving the caller the floor. The host not only intends to influence the caller's behavior, she tries to do so without further ado. In the closing, in contrast, the host more cautiously refers to ending the conversation. A succession of several moves is needed that together serve to bring the conversation to an end.

4.3 Step 2: Statistically testing the Hypotheses

The parts we have distinguished and identified in Step 1 are necessary in order to test our hypotheses presented in Sections 4.1.1. to 4.1.3 as objectively as possible. Step 1 indicated that a typical radio phone-in conversation consists of three parts (opening, body, and closing) and defined where these parts begin and end. Also, it revealed common linguistic strategies for the opening and closing. These conclusions are based on a typical example of a radio phone-in conversation. To generalize these findings to the entire population of radio phone-in conversations, in Step 2 we statistically test our hypotheses using the entire corpus.

4.3.1 Method

4.3.1.1 Description of corpus

In Step 2 we used the same corpus as in Step 1 (see Section 4.2.1). The corpus consisted of 32 radio phone-in conversations with a total number of 907 turns.

4.3.1.2 Measures

In order to quantitatively analyze the corpus, we identified five study variables, namely, two independent and three dependent variables. Subsequently, we labeled the relevant turns of the corpus according to these variables. Table 4.2 displays the frequencies and means of all study variables.

Table 4.2 Descriptive Statistics of the Study Variables

Study variable	Category	*n* (% of total)	*M* (*SD*)
Speaker	Host	465 (51%)	
	Caller	442 (49%)	
Conversation part	Opening	140 (15%)	
	Body	618 (68%)	
	Closing	149 (17%)	
Imperative mood conjugations per turn			0.07 (0.31)
Gift-giving speech acts per turn			0.26 (0.67)
Number of words per turn			11.24 (15.50)

'Speaker' and 'Conversation part' were identified as the independent variables, whereas 'Imperative mood conjugations per turn', 'Gift-giving speech acts per turn' and 'Number of words per turn' were identified as the dependent variables.

Speaker. The 907 identified turns were coded as uttered by either the host or the caller. Fifty-one percent of the turns belonged to the host (n = 465) and 49% to the callers (n = 442).

Conversation part. Based on the decision rules that followed from the qualitative analysis of Step 1, turns were categorized as belonging to one of three different parts of the conversation: the opening, body, or closing. Based on this categorization, 15% (n = 140) of the turns belonged to the opening, 68% (n = 618) to the body, and 17% (n = 149) to the closing of a conversation.

Imperative mood conjugations per turn. To test hypothesis 1, the number of imperative mood conjugations uttered per turn was calculated as an indicator of the threats to negative face. The utterance in (5) provides an example of an imperative mood conjugation:

(5) *Cuéntame [IMPERAT] lo que más le gusta* 'Tell me what you like most'

In total, there were 64 counts of imperative mood conjugations in the corpus, meaning that on average the imperative mood was used 0.07 times per turn (*SD* = .31).

Gift-giving speech acts per turn. To test hypothesis 2, the total number of speech acts indicating agreement as a sign of *understanding* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129; e.g., *Muy bien* 'Very well'), 'news' processing as a sign of *cooperation* (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129; e.g., *Pues hemos tomado nota* 'Well, we have taken note of it'), acknowledgement and leave-taking as expressions of *sympathy*; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129; e.g., *Gracias* 'Thank you' and *Hasta luego* 'See you later' respectively) uttered per turn was calculated as an indicator of the enhancements of positive face.

Appendix 4.1 displays which elements were coded as one of these four gift-giving speech acts.[66] In total, there were 234 counts of gift-giving speech acts in the corpus. This means that on average, gift-giving speech acts were performed 0.26 times per turn (*SD* = .67).

Number of words per turn. To test hypothesis 3, we calculated the number of words per turn. On average, turns consisted of 11.24 words (*SD* = 15.50 words).

4.3.1.3 Statistical method for hypothesis testing

Intraclass correlation analysis. Because our data were nested (i.e., turns were clustered within conversations), we first assessed whether it was appropriate to conduct multi-level analysis by calculating the intraclass correlation coefficients (ICC) for each of our dependent variables, which were (1) 'Imperative mood conjugations per turn', (2) 'Gift-giving speech acts per turn' and (3) 'Number of words per turn'. The ICC is defined as the proportion of between-group variance relative to the total amount of variance. It is used to determine whether there is significant clustering of observations within higher-level units and thus, whether it is useful to account for the nested structure of the data (Field, 2005).

The ICC's for imperative mood conjugations per turn, gift-giving speech acts per turn, and number of words per turn were respectively .0017, .00, and .012. This

[66] Note that in 30 out of 32 openings, the identification of the caller is followed by an invitation to speak, such as *Buenas tardes* 'Good afternoon' or *¿Qué tal?* 'How are you?' (see also Table 4.1). Clearly, this kind of speech act is also an intrusion in the interlocutor's behavior (i.e., the host seeks to get the caller to reply), and therefore could have been coded as a gift-giving speech act. Yet, the invitation to speak has not been taken into account in the quantitative analysis, since its main function is to establish the conversation between host and caller. This is illustrated in the extract in (6), in which it appears that the guest's reply to the host's *Buenas tardes* 'Good afternoon' takes a while, which makes the host to repeat *Hola Pilar* 'Hello Pilar':

(6) 19 December 2013: 8 (17)
1 Host: *Pilar, Madrid. Buenas tardes. Hola Pilar* 'Pilar, Madrid. Good afternoon. Hello Pilar'
2 Caller: *Buenas tardes. Acabo de venir, he puesto la radio hace un cuarto de hora porque estaba en la dentista, pero te oigo todas las tardes* 'Good afternoon. I've just arrived, I've put on the radio only 15 minutes ago because I was at the dentist, but I listen to your program every afternoon'

The extract in (6) illustrates that the host will not proceed to the invitation to produce 'news' without Pilar confirming her presence. Here, *Buenas tardes* 'Good afternoon' is thus not merely used as an expression of sympathy (and certainly not as a leave-taking sign), but is a precondition to get into conversation.

indicates that about 0.17% of the variation in the number of imperative mood conjugations per turn, 0% of the variation in the number of gift-giving speech acts per turn, and 1.2% of the variation in the number of words per turn were situated at the conversation level, with the remaining variation located at the turn level. Given these relatively low ICC's, it was not surprising that our analyses also revealed that none of these between-conversation variance components were significant (p's > .05). Based on these results, we decided that it was not worthwhile to perform multi-level analysis on these data.

Two-way ANOVA. Instead, we performed a series of two-way analysis of variances (ANOVAs). An ANOVA is used to determine whether there are significant differences between certain groups (e.g., host or caller) in terms of a particular characteristic (e.g., how frequently the imperative mood is used) (Field, 2009, p. 348). The term 'two-way' refers to the fact that, in this particular type of ANOVA, there are two independent variables that together define the groups that are compared with one another. In our case, the two independent variables were 'Speaker' (i.e., host or caller), and 'Conversation part' (i.e., opening, body or closing). These groups were compared in terms of our three dependent variables: (1) 'Imperative mood conjugations', (2) 'Gift-giving speech acts' and (3) 'Number of words per turn'. We conducted a separate two-way ANOVA for each of these dependent variables.

In these analyses, the difference between the defined groups in terms of the dependent variable is examined by testing two types of effects. First, it is tested whether the independent variables each have a separate effect on the dependent variable (i.e., main effects). This reveals whether there are any differences between groups defined by one of the independent variables (e.g., whether the imperative mood is more frequently used by host or caller; main effect of 'Speaker'). Second, it is tested whether the independent variables have a combined effect on the dependent variable (i.e., interaction effect). This reveals whether there are any differences between groups defined by the two independent variables in conjunction (e.g., whether the host in the opening of the conversation uses more imperative mood conjugations than callers in the body of the conversation; interaction effect of 'Speaker' and 'Conversation part'). We will now discuss the results of the ANOVAs per hypothesis.

4.3.2 Results hypothesis 1: Imperative mood conjugations

Hypothesis 1 stated that the imperative mood is more frequently used by the host in the opening than in the closing of a conversation (see Section 4.1.1). To test this hypothesis, we conducted a two-way ANOVA with 'Speaker' and 'Conversation part' defined as independent variables and 'Imperative mood conjugations per turn' defined as the dependent variable.

Table 4.3 shows the results. The table presents the dependent variables in columns and the independent variables and their interaction in rows (under the header 'Source'). The most important statistic of the table is the *F* value, which indicates whether a particular effect is significant, and therefore provides first evidence of whether a hypothesis should be rejected or confirmed. For example, the *F*-value of the main effect of 'Speaker' on 'Imperative mood conjugations per turn' equals 4.53 and is statistically significant at the 0.05 level (as indicated by the single asterisk). This latter finding means that there is no more than a 5% risk that this effect does not exist in the entire population of radio phone-in conversations. In addition, the table provides the number of degrees of freedom *(df)* for each 'source'. Although these values are informative (i.e., they are a reflection of the number of groups and observations for which values are estimated), they are not necessary to understand the analysis or to draw conclusions with regard to the rejection or confirmation of hypotheses.[67]

Table 4.3 Results of Two-way ANOVA Imperative Mood Conjugations per Turn

	Imperative mood conjugations per turn	
Source	*df*	*F*
Speaker	1	4.53*
Conversation part	2	2.00ns
Speaker*Conversation part	2	5.47**
Error	901	

Note. ns = non-significant, *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$

There was a significant main effect of 'Speaker', $F(1, 901) = 4.53$, $p < .05$, indicating that the host more often used imperative mood conjugations per turn ($M = 0.09$, *SD*

[67] Note that Tables 4.4 to 4.6 (see below) can be read in the same way.

= .38) than callers (*M* = .05, *SD* = .23). In addition, the interaction effect was significant, $F(2, 901) = 5.47$, $p < .01$, indicating that the difference between host and callers in the use of imperative mood conjugations differed between conversation parts (see also Figure 4.1).

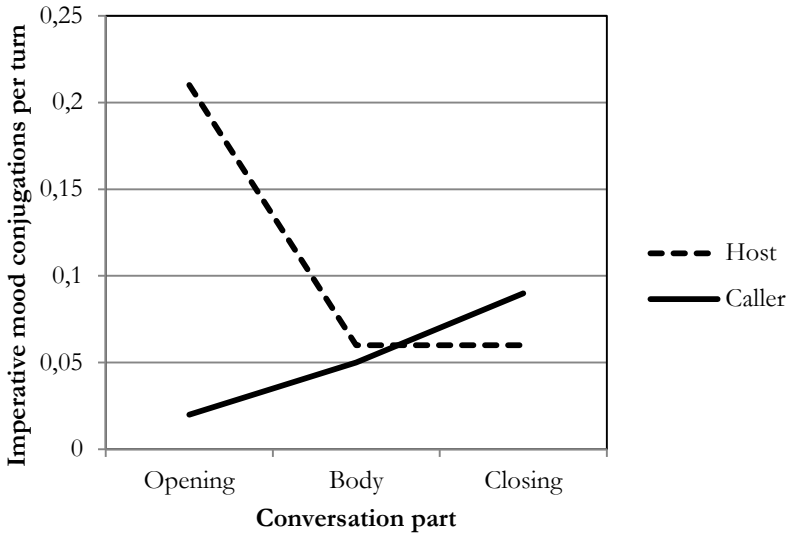

Figure 4.1 Number of Imperative Mood Conjugations per Turn as a Function of Conversation Part and Speaker

Since the two-way ANOVA only showed that the differences between the means were statistically significant, but not where these differences occurred, we conducted a planned contrast analysis. Planned contrast analysis is performed to test hypotheses about the differences between specific pairs of means (Field, 2009, pp. 360-361). In our case, to test hypothesis 1, we examined whether the host used more imperative mood conjugations per turn in the opening than in the closing of the conversation. Results indicated that the host used significantly more imperative mood conjugations per turn in the opening of the conversation (*M* = .21, *SD* = .53) than in the closing of the conversation (*M* = .06, *SD* = .28). Hypothesis 1 was therefore confirmed.

4.3.3 Results hypothesis 2: Gift-giving speech acts

Hypothesis 2 stated that gift-giving speech acts are more frequently performed by the host in the closing than in the opening of the conversation (see Section 4.1.2). To test this hypothesis, we conducted another two-way ANOVA, in which 'Speaker' and 'Conversation part' were defined as the independent variables and 'Gift-giving speech acts per turn' as the dependent variable. Table 4.4 shows the results.

Table 4.4 Results of Two-way ANOVA Gift-giving Speech Acts per Turn

	Gift-giving speech acts per turn	
Source	*df*	*F*
Speaker	1	88.80**
Conversation part	2	129.51**
Speaker*Conversation part	2	34.43**
Error	901	

Note. $^{**}p < .01$

All effects were statistically significant at the .01 significance level. First, there was a significant main effect of 'Speaker', $F(1, 901) = 88.80$, $p < .01$, indicating that the host more often performed gift-giving speech acts per turn ($M = .43$, $SD = .85$) than callers ($M = .08$, $SD = .31$). Second, the main effect of 'Conversation part' was significant, $F(2, 901) = 129.51$, $p < .01$, meaning that the use of gift-giving speech acts differed between conversation parts. Third, the interaction effect was significant, $F(2, 901) = 34.43$, $p < .01$, indicating that the difference between host and callers in the use of gift-giving speech acts differed between conversation parts (see also Figure 4.2).

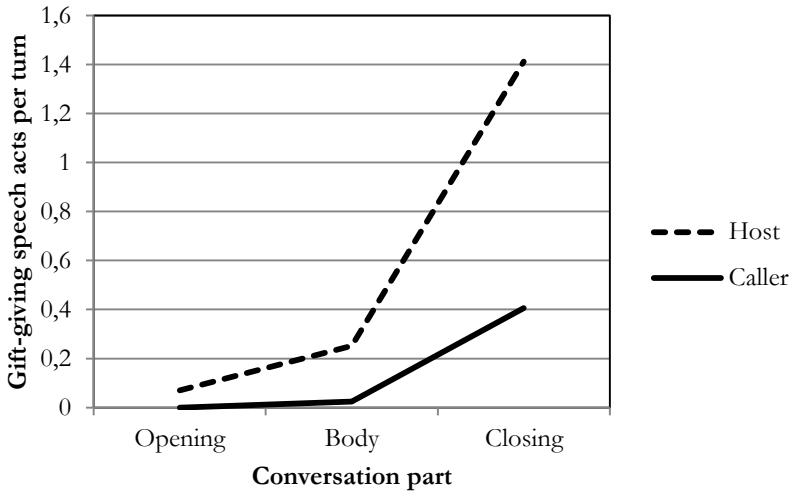

Figure 4.2 Number of Gift-giving Speech Acts per Turn as a Function of Conversation Part and Speaker

Next, to specifically test whether the host performed more gift-giving speech acts per turn in the closing than in the opening of the conversation, we again performed a planned contrast analysis. Confirming hypothesis 2, results indicated that the host performed significantly more gift-giving speech acts per turn in the closing of the conversation (M = 1.41, SD = 1.23) than in the opening of the conversation (M = .07, SD = .26).

4.3.4 Results hypothesis 3: Number of words

Hypothesis 3 stated that the host uses more words in the closing than in the opening of the conversation (see Section 4.1.3). To test this hypothesis, we once again conducted a two-way ANOVA with 'Speaker' and 'Conversation part' defined as independent variables and 'Number of words per turn' defined as the dependent variable. Table 4.5 shows the results.

Table 4.5 Results of Two-way ANOVA Number of Words per Turn

	Number of words per turn	
Source	*df*	*F*
Speaker	1	10.33**
Conversation part	2	11.95**
Speaker*Conversation part	2	23.49**
Error	901	

Note. $^{**}p < .01$

All effects were significant at the .01 significance level. First, there was a significant main effect of 'Speaker', $F(1, 901) = 10.33$, $p < .01$, indicating that callers ($M = 16.04$, $SD = 19.52$) used more words per turn than the host ($M = 6.69$, $SD = 8.01$). Second, the main effect of 'Conversation part' was significant, $F(2, 901) = 11.95$, $p < .01$, meaning that the number of words used per turn differed between conversation parts. Third, the interaction effect was significant, $F(2, 901) = 23.49$, $p < .01$, indicating that the difference between host and callers in the number of words used per turn differed between conversation parts. To interpret these results, we performed pairwise comparisons of all data points using the Bonferroni procedure. This is a statistical adjustment to the significance level of hypothesis tests when multiple significance tests are carried out. Due to the multiplication of probabilities across the multiple tests, the potential for error increases with an increase in the number of tests being performed in a given study. Therefore, the aim of the Bonferroni procedure is to reduce the probability of identifying significant results that do not exist (Field, 2009, p. 373; Salkind, 2010, p. 98). These analyses indicated that the average number of words used by the caller in the body ($M = 19.15$, $SD = 21.10$) exceeded all other data points. Finally, to test hypothesis 3, we performed a planned contrast analysis in which we specifically compared the number of words per turn used by the host in the opening and closing. Results revealed no difference between the opening ($M = 7.51$, $SD = 4.78$) and closing ($M = 8.72$, $SD = 10.19$), leading us to reject hypothesis 3. Figure 4.3 visualizes these effects.

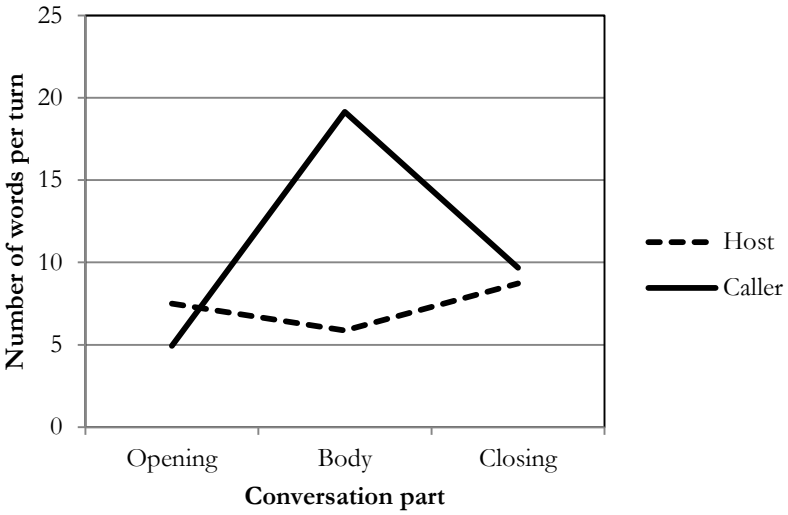

Figure 4.3 Number of Words per Turn as a Function of Conversation Part and Speaker

In Step 1, however, it was shown that in ten of the 32 conversations a deviant structure with regard to the opening or the closing was observed (see Section 4.2.2.3). Because in some deviant conversations the closing sequence is extended by the caller, it would be possible that the host is forced in these conversations to use fewer words per turn than in standard conversations. To investigate this, we distinguished between the conversations following the standard course as presented in Table 4.1 and the conversations with a deviant structure. We then conducted a three-way ANOVA with 'Speaker', 'Conversation part' and 'Conversation structure' defined as independent variables and 'Number of words per turn' defined as the dependent variable. Table 4.6 shows the results.

Table 4.6 Results of Three-way ANOVA Number of Words per Turn

	Number of words per turn	
Source	*df*	*F*
Speaker	1	6.77**
Conversation part	2	10.29**
Conversation structure	1	0.08ns
Speaker*Conversation part	2	22.20**
Conversation part*Conversation structure	2	1.72ns
Speaker* Conversation structure	1	3.16ns
Speaker*Conversation part* Conversation structure	2	5.50**
Error	895	

Note. ns = non-significant, $^{**}p < .01$

Logically, similar to the two-way ANOVA, the main effects of 'Speaker', $F(1, 895) = 6.77$, $p < .01$, and 'Conversation part', $F(2, 895) = 10.29$, $p < .01$, were again significant. There was no main effect of conversation structure, $F(1, 895) = .08$, $p = .78$). Again similar to the two-way ANOVA, the interaction effect between 'Speaker' and 'Conversation part' was significant, $F(2, 895) = 22.20$, $p < .01$. Finally, the three-way interaction effect between 'Speaker', 'Conversation part' and 'Conversation structure' was significant, $F(2, 895) = 5.50$, $p < .01$, indicating that the difference between host and callers in the use of number of words per turn differed between the conversation parts and between the conversations with a standard and deviant structure (see Figure 4.4).

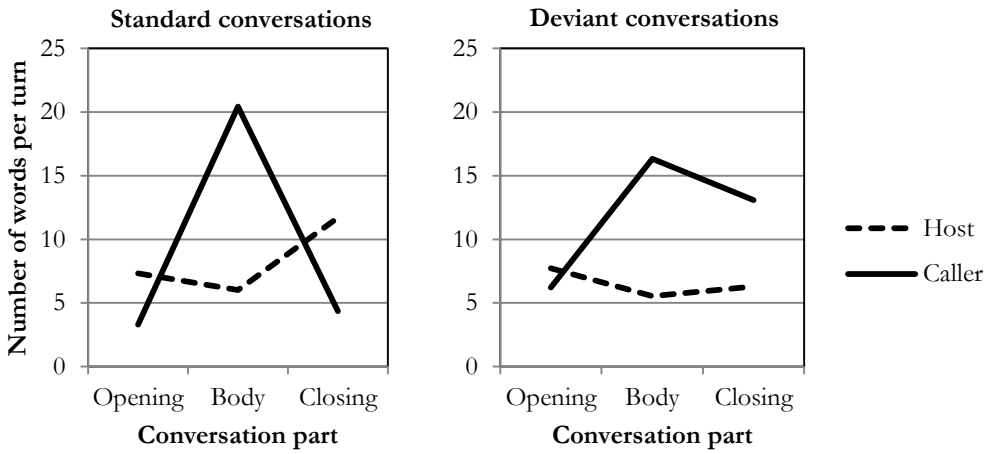

Figure 4.4 Number of Words per Turn as a Function of Conversation Part and Speaker for Standard and Deviant Conversations

Next, to specifically test whether the host used more words per turn in the closing than in the opening of the conversation in standard and deviant conversations, we performed planned contrast analyses. In standard conversations, the host used significantly more words per turn in the closing of the conversation (M = 11.71, SD = 13.29) than in the opening of the conversation (M = 7.33, SD = 4.24). In deviant conversations, the difference in number of words used by the host per turn did not differ between closing (M = 6.30, SD = 5.85) and opening (M = 7.73, SD = 5.38).

4.3.5 Conclusions Step 2

We can draw three conclusions from these findings. First, the host uses more imperative mood conjugations in the opening than in the closing of the conversation, just like hypothesis 1 predicts. Second, the host performs more gift-giving speech acts in the closing than in the opening of the conversation, again, according to the expectation of hypothesis 2. Third, in conversations with a standard structure, the host uses more words per turn in the closing than in the opening, which once more is in line with hypothesis 3. These hypotheses are not to be seen as individual expectations related to particular speaker's strategies. They are rather interrelated, and, as such, symptoms of one general strategy which might be described as 'hospitable'.

4.4 What about the Validity of our Hypotheses?

In this chapter, we aimed to find empirical support for our hypothesis that hospitality is a strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary in radio phone-in conversations. We hypothesized that the shift in beneficiary, from caller in the opening to host in the closing, is reflected in the use of different linguistic strategies applied by the host. In two steps we tested whether the supposed difference in beneficiary can be made concrete by the linguistic forms that constitute the speech acts to get callers to speak in the opening, and to get them stop talking in the closing.

The picture that emerges from the qualitative analysis in Step 1 confirms a shift in beneficiary: from caller in the opening, to host in the closing. This shift involves a behavioral change of the host. In both the opening and closing, the host intends to influence the caller's behavior. Yet, the strategy to do so differs for both conversation parts. In the opening, the host is being very direct in giving the caller the floor. The imperative mood is commonly used to perform an invitation to produce 'news'. The host not only intends to influence the caller's behavior, she tries to do so without further ado. Since the invitation to produce 'news' is mainly in the caller's interest, the host can be very direct in inviting without making the caller lose face.

In the closing, in contrast, to deprive the caller of the possibility to speak seems to be a delicate matter. A succession of several moves is needed to bring the conversation to an end. These moves include speech acts that are related to gift-giving strategies in language usage, such as the expression of understanding, cooperation, and sympathy. The host intends to influence the caller's behavior, but she simultaneously demonstrates that she knows of the caller's needs in communication and that she wants them to be fulfilled (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129). And so, although the attempt to silence the caller is to the host's benefit, the threat to losing face is neatly redressed.

Whereas the qualitative analysis allowed us to precisely determine the structure of a typical conversation and identify the specific speech acts and linguistic forms used by the host, the quantitative analyses of Step 2 allowed us to statistically test our hypotheses. Moreover, we were able to acquire a more profound understanding of (1) how a host attempts to influence a caller's behavior, and (2) how the host simultaneously tries to meet the caller's needs with regard to positive and negative face.

Our analyses show that there is a difference between the opening and closing of the conversation in the linguistic strategies applied by the host (cf. imperative mood conjugations in the opening and gift-giving speech acts in the closing). These strategies are related to a caller's face: the former factors are commonly taken as a threat to negative face, whereas the latter are generally seen as enhancement of positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 95, 129). Furthermore, wordiness (cf. a high number of words used per turn) seems to be a strategy to avoid threats to a caller's negative face. These results confirm the general tendency that the host can permit herself more threats to negative face in the opening than in the closing of a conversation. In addition, in the closing of a conversation the host needs to pay attention to the enhancement of the caller's positive face in order to be hospitable. As such, our findings provide some independent support for the existence of a relationship between speech acts and the linguistic forms involved to construct these acts in general. So far, this relationship can be best explained by our hypothesis about hospitality being a strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

Further research may strengthen the outcomes of our research in several ways. First, the present study focused on the interaction in the specific setting of a radio talk show. This was a deliberate choice, because we wanted to avoid any interference by non-verbal communication (e.g., gestures). Yet, at the same time, this choice implies that we cannot generalize our findings to mundane conversations. Although the interaction in radio phone-in conversations is in large part similar to that in a mundane conversation, there are also several differences. Different from mundane conversations, radio phone-in conversations lack non-verbal communication, have a host in place that controls the interaction, and are primarily designed for the overhearing audience. As such, the interaction in radio phone-in conversations is considered to be only an approximation of mundane talk (Hutchby, 1991, p. 119). To establish the robustness of our findings, future research may focus on other types of interactions (e.g., in host-guest relationships within hotels).

Second, the conversations were held in a particular language, namely, Peninsular Spanish. Yet, languages differ in the extent to which their speakers prefer to make use of certain linguistic strategies (Haverkate, 1984, pp. 117-118). A clear example is provided by Haverkate (1983), who points to the fact that in Dutch, invitation speech acts can be performed in at least six different ways, varying from the example in (7) to the one presented in (8):

(7) *Ga even zitten* 'Please sit down' (Haverkate, 1983, p. 654)

(8) *Ga maar eens even zitten* 'Please sit down' (Haverkate, 1983, p. 654)

According to Haverkate (1983, p. 654), all alternatives are considered to be polite forms of verbal behavior, yet *maar* 'just' in the latter example indicates that the speaker has a certain authority over the interlocutor.[68] Spanish, in contrast, does not have such modal particles, yet is very rich in other linguistic elements, such as diminutive suffixes by which the speaker expresses empathy towards the persons addressed (Haverkate, 1983, p. 655). Therefore, future research may focus on interactions in other languages (e.g., Dutch and English), to further generalize our results.

We conclude that this chapter enhances our understanding of how the use of the imperative mood on the one hand, and expressions of understanding, cooperation and sympathy on the other, interact with the identity of the beneficiary in hospitality situations. In Chapter 5 we will discuss these findings in conjunction with the results presented in Chapters 2 and 3, in order to shed light on the issue of how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality.

[68] Note that Haverkate (1983, p. 654) gives the (literal) meaning of the modal adverb *maar* as 'but'. I am indebted to Gisela Redeker for drawing my attention to the fact that *maar* as an adverb has its own meaning, namely, 'just' or 'only'. This is not a pragmatically modified meaning of *maar* as a conjunction (i.e., in the meaning of 'but'), and thus, in (8), *maar* should be translated as 'just' or 'only'.

Appendix 4.1 Coding of Linguistic Elements into Gift-giving Speech Acts

Type of gift-giving speech act	*Element* 'English'
Expressing agreement	*Muy bien* 'Very well'
	Vale 'O.K.'
	Perfecto 'Perfect'
	Oír 'To hear'
	Entender 'To understand'
	Acordarse 'To remember'
Recording data	*Tomar nota* 'To take note of'
	Apuntar 'To write down'
	Insister 'To insist'
	Tener en cuenta 'To take into account'
	Corregir 'To correct'
	Decir 'To tell'
	Quedarse con las ideas 'To keep the ideas'
Thanking	*Gracias* 'Thank you'
	Agradecer 'To be grateful for'
Leave-taking	*Adiós* 'Bye'
	Hasta luego 'See you later'

Chapter 5

Setting sail to hospitality

5.1 Getting to the Heart of Interpretation

In midst of a terrace in Madrid, we came across a sign indicating the utterances in (1):

(1) *Servimos comida a cualquier hora* 'We serve food at any time'[69]

In (1), the pragmatic message probably is an invitation to have a seat, yet, in fact, only a statement is made about food being served at any time of the day. It illustrates the research problem addressed in this dissertation: if the literal utterance meaning does not necessarily correspond to the speaker's utterance meaning, how, then, is it possible that a statement as made in the terrace-case in (1) can be interpreted as an invitation? Or, put it differently, HOW DOES LANGUAGE CONTRIBUTE TO THE INTERPRETATION OF HOSPITALITY? In the terrace-case in (1), the fact that the utterances were found within a commercial hospitality setting certainly contributed to the uptake of the utterances as an invitation rather than as a mere statement. In general, the examination of the context within which a speech act is performed provides, at least in part, an answer to the issue of the gap between, on the one hand, the pragmatic message of an utterance that is expressed by means of speech acts, and, on the other hand, the linguistic forms involved to construct these acts. But, how does the interaction of a linguistic utterance and the extralinguistic context lead to a certain interpretation? It appeared that hospitality lies at the heart of interpretation, and not in the linguistic form, and therefore, the role of the extralinguistic context cannot be underestimated. It is precisely this that makes the relationship between speech act and linguistic form so complex and difficult to grasp. We will come back to this issue in Section 5.3 to give it full credit there.

The main aim of this dissertation was to develop an understanding of how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. First, we illustrated that, in daily life, it seems to be quite unambiguous what hospitality is. At least, it is clear what type of visitor is being welcome (e.g., tourists), and what type is not (e.g., refugees). Yet, the differentiation between desired guests on the one hand, and undesired visitors on the other, simultaneously emphasized the intangibility of hospitality. Hospitality in

[69] I am indebted to Almudena González Gutiérrez de León for these examples, which were found both in Spanish and in English.

relation to tourists is conditional, since it presupposes an exchange process between host and guest. In contrast, it appeared that hospitality in relation to refugees and migrants is more problematic, since this type of traveler cannot but appeal for hospitality. Therefore, to be truly hospitable to these types of travellers would require suspending language. Problematically, the speech acts that are typically performed in daily life hospitality situations, such as invitations, take shape by language (Derrida & Dufourmantelle, 2000, pp. 133-135). And so, we argued that a critical examination of the role of language in relation to hospitality seemed to be appropriate.

In order to address this issue we studied hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective. This allowed us to examine a relatively variable concept within a rather rigid theoretical framework. As a preliminary step, we tried to define hospitality in linguistic terms in CHAPTER 1. More specifically, we asked ourselves whether hospitality is a speech act, a meaning, or a message. Since the initial inquiry did not result in a satisfactory outcome, we hypothesized hospitality as a speaker's strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. Moreover, we proposed to look for hospitality through an analysis of the linguistic forms that are used in the communication between hosts and guests. In this final chapter we aim to define hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective. To this end, we will examine the results of our investigations presented in Chapters 2 to 4 in conjunction. Also, we reflect on the extent to which we might have been able to move the frontiers of knowledge, how our findings could benefit the hospitality professional, and suggest how future research may build upon our findings.

5.2 A Linguistic Route to Hospitality

We followed the track of linguistic forms that are used in the communication between hosts and guests in order to investigate how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. A reconstruction of the findings of the empirical chapters is presented in three steps.

5.2.1 Step 1: Orienting to language usage in hospitality situations

Since we had no previous knowledge about how the communication in typical hospitality situations looked like, the aim of the first empirical chapter was to observe the speech acts that were performed in the communication between hosts and guests

as well as the linguistic forms to construct these acts. Therefore, in CHAPTER 2 we explored language usage in hospitality situations in a Colombian Spanish novel (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974)). To this end, we first qualitatively analyzed two of the most salient dialogues in hospitality situations. We found that the speech acts of greeting and inviting are particularly relevant to hospitality situations. Moreover, we observed that different linguistic forms are involved to perform greetings and invitations. That is, the linguistic forms that were used in the hospitality situations could be seen as varying from very polite to apparently extremely impolite. These findings once again illustrated the intangibility of hospitality.

Although the qualitative analysis did not provide us with a mere definition of hospitality (e.g., 'Hospitality is politeness', or 'Hospitality is the use of informal linguistic forms'), it revealed that hospitality is related to different linguistic systems interacting with the context. As such, it gave guidance to the linguistic forms that we had to take into account in the quantitative analysis. More specifically, we deduced that we had to focus on *T* (informal) and *V* (formal) modes of address. Affecting an interlocutor's positive face (viz., one's need to feel appreciated by others; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61), mode of address seemed to be relevant to hospitality situations. Moreover, we concentrated on the use of different verb moods. Affecting the negative face of speakers (viz., one's need to not feel impeded by others; Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 61), indicative, subjunctive, and imperative mood conjugations also seemed to be relevant to hospitality situations.

Consequently, the same novel was now quantitatively analyzed on the use of *T* and *V* modes of address as well as on indicative, subjunctive, and imperative mood conjugations. We found that in hospitality situations, *V* is more likely to be used than *T*, whereas in non-hospitality situations, *T* is more likely to be used than *V*. On the other hand, the results suggested that hospitality situations do not necessarily differ from non-hospitality situations in the use of verb moods. Thus, other than with regard to modes of address, it remained difficult to relate a specific verb mood to hospitality situations.

5.2.2 Step 2: Moving from verb mood to hospitality

In the previous step it was revealed that, although hospitality and language seem to be inextricably entwined, it remained difficult to relate a specific verb mood to hospitality situations, such as had been the case with modes of address (viz., *V* forms). This

triggered us to further examine verb moods in relation to hospitality. More specifically, in CHAPTER 3 we reflected on the question how it is possible for speakers to distinguish between invitations (cf. speech acts that express a sense of hospitality) and orders (cf. speech acts that express a sense of hostility), if one and the same linguistic form (the imperative mood) is used to construct both acts.

We addressed this issue by analyzing the meaning of the speech acts of ordering and inviting using a qualitative approach (Wierzbicka, 1987). Problematically, so we argued, in traditional grammars the imperative mood is related to orders (e.g., Butt & Benjamin, 2000, Section 17.1). Yet, in many languages, it is also commonly used to perform invitations (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 99). We further emphasized the problematic relationship between orders and invitations in imperative mood by illustrating that the categorization under directive speech acts indicates what both acts have in common, namely, both orders and invitations are an intrusion in the behavior of the interlocutor (Searle, 1979, pp. 13-14). Conversely, both acts are clearly different, yet the difference had not been made clear to date.

Our findings suggested that there is a fundamental difference between orders and invitations in the identity of the BENEFICIARY in relation to the interlocutors with each of the speech acts. That is, we argued that orders are commonly performed to the benefit of the speaker, whereas invitations are generally performed to the benefit of the interlocutor (cf. Eslami, 2005; Hancher, 1979). In addition, we stated that precisely this contrast appears to lie at the very heart of the difference between orders and invitations. Subsequently, to stress this difference, we proposed an amended model of orders and invitations, in which the notion of the beneficiary plays a key role. Furthermore, we proposed that if the interlocutor is able to infer the intended beneficiary of the speech act from the context, it explains how an utterance in imperative mood is interpreted as an invitation, despite its linguistic form. With regard to hospitality, this means that the identification of the intended beneficiary of the speech act plays a decisive role in the interpretation of hospitable language usage. And so, we concluded that hospitality appears to be a strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

5.2.3 Step 3: Choosing the right beneficiary

In the previous step we further developed our hypothesis that hospitality is to be seen as a strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. As a next

step, we sought to find empirical support for this hypothesis. To this end, in CHAPTER 4 we analyzed a corpus of radio phone-in conversations between host and callers. We argued that callers are the beneficiary in the opening, whereas the host is the beneficiary in the closing of the conversations. Moreover, we hypothesized that the shift in beneficiary is reflected in the use of different linguistic strategies applied by the host.

First, we identified the different parts of a typical radio phone-in conversation, and revealed the common linguistic strategies used in each part. Second, we statistically tested our hypotheses using the entire corpus. Confirming our hypotheses, we found that the shift in beneficiary, from caller in the opening to host in the closing, involves a behavioral change of the host that is corroborated, to some extent, by the linguistic forms involved within both parts. More specifically, it appeared that the host uses more imperative mood conjugations in the opening than in the closing of the conversation. The host is being very direct in giving the caller room to speak, whereas she only indirectly hints at taking away the word from the caller. Thus, when the interlocutor is the intended beneficiary, it appears to be less important to reduce potential threats to positive and negative face.

In contrast, when the speaker is the intended beneficiary within a situation where he/she is supposed to be hospitable, the linguistic forms to be used should be rather polite, supposedly, in the attempt to redress the threats to the interlocutor's face. Consequently, in our data it appeared that the host uses more gift-giving strategies (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 129) in the closing than in the opening of the conversation. Also, in conversations with a standard structure, the host uses more words per turn in the closing than in the opening. The host thus was being more wordy in the closing than in the opening, supposedly, in the attempt to redress the threats to the caller's face.

The linguistic strategies applied by the host indeed may be taken as indications that hospitality is a speaker's strategy to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. As such, these findings constitute some independent support for our hypothesis with regard to hospitality.

5.3 Conclusion: The Language of Hospitality

Two major conclusions can be derived from the findings presented in the previous steps. First, hospitality adopts different forms in language usage. Since language may affect an interlocutor's positive and negative face, speakers 'play' with the enhancement of and the threat to either of the faces in order to be hospitable. And so, the linguistic forms used for hospitality appear to be as contradictory as the term 'hospitality' itself (see Sections 1.1 and 1.2.2). That is, hospitality may be interpreted in the use of linguistic forms that could be seen as varying from very polite to apparently extremely impolite. Even the negation of hospitality in the use of rather hostile language can be interpreted as hospitable. Figure 5.1 visualizes hospitality as a marble moving between (im)politeness, and hostility with friendliness as its counterpart.

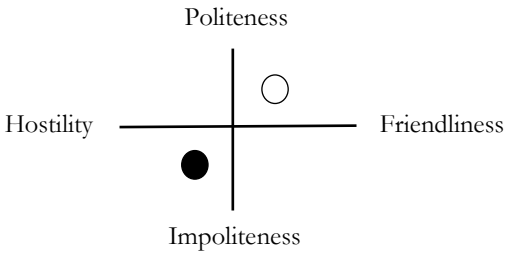

Figure 5.1 The Hospitality-marble moving between (Im)Politeness, Hostility, and Friendliness

Figure 5.1 shows that the linguistic forms that are used in hospitality situations can be interpreted as expressing a certain degree of hostility and friendliness on the one hand (horizontally), and of politeness and impoliteness on the other hand (vertically). Hospitality moves within this two-dimensional plane as if it were a marble; the inclination to one of the four intersections is determined by the circumstances in which a particular speech act is performed. For example, in Section 2.2.2 two hospitality situations were discussed in which the host performs an invitation. In Figure 5.1, the white marble represents hospitality related to the first situation in which there neither were kinship nor friendship ties between the speakers. Here, it was shown that the host wishes the guest a good day, followed by a succession of two formal address terms and a double proper name, indicating that the speaker in

question is being very polite. The invitation was characterized as extremely indirect, presenting an interrogative sentence structure that additionally contained a negation. According to the narrator, the utterances of the host were 'very hospitable and polite' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), p. 158; translation ours). The relevant dimensions here seem to be politeness and friendliness; in Figure 5.1, consequently, hospitality is visualized by rolling the white marble to the upper right intersection. This situation may be characterized as an iconic hospitality situation.

On the other hand, the black marble indicates hospitality in a rather different, marked situation. Here, it was shown that the host prohibits the guest to leave, and, moreover, insults the guest by using a term of abuse. Although both acts were not very hospitable at first sight, it was revealed that this is only apparent, since the interlocutors are good friends. And so, the narrator explains that the host 'falls out with affection, disguised as fury' (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974), pp. 488-489; translation ours). Although hostility and impoliteness seem to be leading here, this situation may nevertheless be interpreted as hospitable and so, in Figure 5.1 the marble has rolled to the lower left intersection. Similarly, one can imagine other situations in which the host is being (too) polite, and, in doing so, expresses a social distance between the speakers that would make roll the marble to the upper left intersection. Finally, situations in which the host is being informal without being offensive would make the hospitality-marble touch the lower right intersection.

What we may conclude from Figure 5.1 is that it illustrates that hospitality is NOT the same as politeness, yet partially relates to it. In some situations it is appropriate to use linguistic forms that can be seen as polite, such as *V* forms of address (e.g., the Spanish personal pronoun *usted* 'you'). Also, other forms that avoid a direct reference to the interlocutor, such as is the case with regard to gift-giving speech acts (e.g., expressions of gratitude), can be used to be hospitable. In other situations, in contrast, it is most appropriate to use informal linguistic forms, such as proper names as opposed to formal titles of address (e.g., Sir or Madam). Even linguistic forms that can be seen as rather impolite, such as 'gipsy of the devil' (see Section 2.2.2) can be appropriate in hospitality situations among friends.

The second major conclusion concerns the issue of the correct interpretation of an intended pragmatic message from an utterance. In this regard, two aspects seem to be primarily relevant. The first – and frequently mentioned aspect in existing literature on Pragmatics – is the context of the utterance. Obviously, it requires less

effort to understand the terrace-case in (1) as an invitation to have a seat when it is found within the typical hospitality setting of a restaurant than when it is heard at a bus stop or other place not directly related to a hospitality business company. The second – and newly proposed aspect in this dissertation – is the ability of the addressee to infer himself as the intended beneficiary of the utterance. Thus, in order to recognize a mere statement about food being served at any time of the day as an invitation to have a seat, the interlocutor needs to derive that not the speaker, but the interlocutor himself is supposed to have an interest in the action.

Hence, language indirectly – but persuasively – contributes to the interpretation of hospitality, namely, by giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary of the speech act. This feeling is achieved when the linguistic forms that are used in the communication between host and guest express a certain degree of either hostility, friendliness, or (im)politeness in accordance with the circumstances of the speech act. This leads us to define hospitality as follows:

> Hospitality is a strategy that aims to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary, and, as such, acts as the catalyst between speech act, linguistic form, and the intended communicative message.

The proposed definition implies that hospitality is an aspect of human behavior that manifests itself in the use of language and that generally benefits communication. That is, it positively influences the interpretation of a certain utterance and explains how specific conversational situations pass off well. Acting as the catalyst between speech act and linguistic form, it explains how it is possible that, in daily life, utterances like 'Come in', 'Have a seat', and 'Make yourself at home' may be interpreted as hospitable and not as offensive. Hospitality, so we conclude, is a strategy with great pragmatic impact.

5.4 To what Extent have we achieved to work at the Frontiers of Knowledge?

By studying the concept of hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective, our research can be characterized as interdisciplinary; it contributes to both the field of Hospitality Studies and the field of Pragmatics. Another fundamental characteristic of the research in this dissertation is the combination of qualitative with quantitative

research techniques. By adopting such a mixed method approach, we were able to generalize our findings beyond the specific samples we examined. While the use of these quantitative techniques is commonplace in the Social Sciences, this is less the case for the field of Pragmatics. As such, our research is innovative in its method.

In this dissertation we have sought for hospitality through the linguistic forms that are used in the communication between hosts and guests. As far as we know, no other attempts to look at hospitality from specifically a pragmalinguistic perspective have been made yet. This is important, because it allowed us to start with a 'clean slate' and to begin 'at the beginning'. Not having any previous knowledge on how language contributes to hospitality other than common sense and own experiences, we could solely rely on the data we obtained from the selected sources. The findings of our analyses in conjunction indicate that hospitality is a strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. As such, we have been able to provide a novel view on hospitality which invites new thoughts on how we communicate with the people around us. At least, it makes us aware of the force of language and its effect on our interlocutors. In our view, this is where we might have moved the frontiers of knowledge about hospitality, albeit but a tiny fraction.

Existing literature on the study of hospitality commonly distinguishes between three domains of hospitality, namely, (1) the cultural/social domain, in which the social context of hospitality activities is studied; (2) the private/domestic domain, which involves the issue of the meaning of hospitality; and (3) the commercial/industrial domain, in which the authenticity of commercial hospitality is discussed (Lashley, 2017, pp. 2-4). At first sight, the study of hospitality presented in this dissertation appears to belong to the private/domestic domain of hospitality, as it considers what hospitality is when a pragmalinguistic perspective is taken. Yet, our findings are illustrative of the interface of all domains of hospitality, that is, of the EXPERIENCE of hospitality (cf. Lashley, 2017, p. 2). Language, and the aim to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary in a given situation, acts as a common denominator in all three domains. As such, it shows the relevance of linguistic investigations when it comes to the study of hospitality as a human phenomenon: the

entwinement between hospitality and language cannot be overlooked any longer in the field of Hospitality Studies and within the hospitality business industry.[70]

Simultaneously, the proposed definition of hospitality as a strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary calls for further research, since the supposed interaction between hospitality and the changing role of the beneficiary needs more independent support. Future research may be conducted 'in the field', taking into account the typical actors within hospitality situations, such as refugees and rescue workers, or tourists and reception desk employees. Hence, our research on expressions of hospitality can be fostered by examinations of PERCEPTIONS of hospitality.

In this regard, our research may be further strengthened by focusing on prosody, since it contributes considerably to the interpretation of communicative situations.[71] Aspects such as rhythm, pitch, stress, conversational turn-taking, and body language were not taken into account in this dissertation. Yet, these kinds of aspects certainly influence the uptake of an utterance; compare, for example, (2) and (3):

(2) *Cierra [IND] la puerta Juan* 'Juan closes the door' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 3)

(3) *¡Cierra [IMPERAT] la puerta, Juan!* 'Juan, close the door!' (Haverkate, 2002, p. 3)

Clearly, prosodic patterns distinguish the imperative mood in (3) from the indicative mood in (2), since there is no formal difference between these particular verb conjugations in both examples (Haverkate, 2002, p. 3). Hence, aspects related to prosody may also play a fundamental role in the interpretation of hospitality through language usage, as we have seen in Section 2.2.2: even apparently impolite linguistic forms may positively contribute to a hospitable interpretation of the message in certain situations. What is more, by some the examination of prosody is even

[70] See also Section 1.2.3 for a description of Hospitality Studies as an academic field and for existing literature on hospitality in relation to language in particular. In Section 5.5 we will reflect on the implications of our findings for the hospitality business industry.
[71] I am indebted to Wander Lowie for this suggestion.

considered to be indispensable in understanding the functioning of social interaction (Selting, 2010, pp. 5-6).[72]

Another basic analytical principle of this dissertation is the provision of some objective demonstrations of the relationship between the pragmatic aspects of utterances that are expressed by means of speech acts on the one hand, and linguistic forms on the other. In doing so, we address the gap that has been discussed in Section 1.2.3, namely, that existing linguistic analyses commonly use qualitative research methodologies, such as contextual interpretations of individual examples, to demonstrate the validity of a certain hypothesis (Contini-Morava, 1995, p. 23); objective demonstrations for the relationship between, on the one hand, the pragmatic aspects of utterances that are expressed by means of speech acts, and, on the other hand, the linguistic forms involved, despite their great need, are scarce (De Jonge, 2011, p. 1). By combining research techniques borrowed from Social Science disciplines with qualitative approaches that are common in the field of Pragmatics, we were able to provide support for the validity of our hypotheses, not only on the basis of contextual interpretations of individual examples, but also, with 'hard data'.

As such, a fundamental principle of this dissertation is that we have been able to take a next step in explaining how speakers are able to derive a pragmatic message from an utterance on the basis of scarce or even 'erroneous' information, namely, by pointing to hospitality acting as the catalyst between speech act and linguistic form. So far, the possible relationship between speech acts and linguistic forms can be best explained by our hypotheses. More specifically, our findings suggest that a complete picture of speech acts and the meaning of the linguistic forms to construct speech acts involves the consideration of hospitality as a strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary, and that acts as the catalyst between speech act, linguistic form, and the intended communicative message. In our view, this is another place where we have been able to move, or have challenged at least, the frontiers of knowledge.

Yet, the evidence we have provided in this dissertation is limited to the specific corpus of Peninsular Spanish radio phone-in conversations. More data may provide more insights, and thus, may sharpen the hypotheses. Future research

[72] According to Mulder (1998, p. 121), research by several authors (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Navarro Tomás, 1948; Sag & Liberman, 1975) has shown that intonation may play a decisive role in the interpretation of an utterance.

intending to bridge the gap between speech act and linguistic form may therefore be conducted using another corpus, based on another type of spoken, or even written, conversations. In addition, to some extent, the question still remains how interpretation takes shape. To date, it is unknown what exactly happens in our minds when interpreting, for example, an imperative utterance as either an invitation or an order. In this regard, future research on the gap between speech act and linguistic form may take a neurolinguistic approach. Investigating which parts of the brain are stimulated when hearing and interpreting a certain utterance may shed additional light on the underlying processes that make humans able to "jump to conclusions" (Contini-Morava, 1995, p. 17) on a minimum of information, as has been argued in Section 1.4.3.

5.5 What's in it for me as a Hospitality Professional?

The pragmalinguistic approach to hospitality provides opportunities to both current hospitality professionals and the education of future hospitality professionals, both in and outside the hospitality business industry. The hospitality business industry, such as the hotel and catering sector, as well as other travel and hospitality institutions, such as the ones in charge of the reception of asylum seekers, are pre-eminently sectors that are increasingly characterized by cultural and linguistic diversity due to growing internationalization and migration (cf. Hooghe, Trappers, Meuleman, & Reeskens, 2008, pp. 483-484). Knowledge of different languages and cultures may therefore be vital to a satisfactory performance of hospitality professionals. In order to be well prepared for the field, (future) hospitality professionals should gain and maintain linguistic and cultural knowledge and skills. This means, moreover, that focusing on gaining knowledge of grammar and on increasing of vocabulary of a specific foreign language is not enough. The example in (4) illustrates that, for a hospitality professional to be successful, learning the semantic meaning of, for instance, politeness formulas, is not sufficient:

(4) In the scope of a study about semantic and pragmatic equivalents of politeness formulas in Spanish and French, French students were asked what they considered to be surprising with regard to Spanish behavior in social interaction. It appeared that the Spanish use *gracias* 'thank you' in relatively

> fewer situations than the French say *merci* 'thank you'. Moreover, after a long stay in Spain, once back home in France the French students apparently expressed their gratitude less frequently than before staying in Spain. A similar research held under Spanish students confirmed the contrary, namely, during a long stay in France they tend to express their gratitude in more situations then before staying in France (Sevilla Muñoz & Sevilla Muñoz, 2005).

This example illustrates that, in order to be a successful hospitality professional and to successfully prepare future hospitality professionals for the field, primarily focusing on the meaning of words belonging to a foreign language is not sufficient.[73] Especially hospitality professionals, working in a field that is highly dependent on a smooth host-guest interaction in the broadest sense of the term, should be aware of the influence of context on language usage.

The findings of this dissertation have led to a better understanding of the mystery of hospitality. Logically, hospitality not only differs per situation, but also per culture. The insight, gained in this dissertation concerning the importance of the beneficiary is a very important, albeit not sufficient, condition for understanding hospitality in different situations and cultures. A next step is to define how to investigate differences regarding hospitality between cultures, and, by doing so, to increase the practical applicability of the findings presented in this dissertation.

5.6 Crossing the Threshold between Speech Act and Linguistic Form

In the interpretation of *¿Por qué no te callas*? 'Why don't you shut up' (see Section 1.1), hostility rather than hospitality acted as the catalyst between speech act and linguistic form. As a first response to the king's utterance, Chávez demanded an apology from the Spanish king and warned that he would review existing diplomatic ties and take action against Spanish investments in Venezuela. Yet, the situation was defused by the Spanish king when he received the Venezuelan president in Mallorca the next year. He offered his guest a special gift: a t-shirt with the king's famous words printed on it (Sanz Ezquerro, 2013). And so, finally, hospitality rather than hostility entered the stage, and made the conversational situation pass off well.

[73] Cf. *merci* = *gracias* in the case of the expression of gratitude.

Words are thus certainly not only words, as we already argued in Section 1.4.3. The Chávez-case is just an example of the paradox of language usage in general: an apparently neutral utterance can be intended and interpreted as being very offensive, whereas rather hostile language can likewise be interpreted as truly welcoming. Understanding how language contributes to specifically the interpretation of hospitality was the aim of this dissertation. We concluded that the interaction between linguistic forms that express a certain degree of hostility, friendliness, or (im)politeness, and the circumstances of a particular speech act may give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary in a situation that is intended to be hospitable. It is this interplay between linguistic forms, the circumstances, and the role of the beneficiary that defines the language of hospitality.

This will hopefully enhance our understanding of how we, human beings, use language. We are able to interpret a certain utterance on the basis of scarce or even contradictory information. That is, we may say one thing but mean something totally different, as has been illustrated by the Chávez-case. Also, we say one thing, and in addition, mean something more, as in the terrace-case in (1). In any case, we cross the threshold between speech act and linguistic form without hesitation. From there on, it is up to the interlocutor to infer the intended message.

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English summary

Research problem and aim

In order to address this dissertation's overarching question of what hospitality is, we study hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective. We specifically focus on the issue of the gap between the pragmatic message of an utterance that is expressed by means of speech acts (Austin, Urmson, & Sbisà, 1975; Searle, 1969) and the linguistic forms involved to construct these acts. In this regard, we are particularly interested in the contribution of certain linguistic forms in Spanish, such as modes of address and verb moods, to the pragmatic message conveyed in hospitality situations. Nobody is surprised or offended when the verb mood used in these messages is the imperative – surprisingly a mood that is traditionally related to giving orders, a rather hostile act (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Haverkate, 2002).

We argue that the examination of the context of a speech act only partially answers the question of why the pragmatic implied message may differ from the literal meaning of an utterance. To date, the question how interpretation takes shape has remained largely unanswered. Developing an understanding of how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality is the main aim of this dissertation. As a first step, we try to define hospitality in linguistic terms in CHAPTER 1. More specifically, we ask ourselves whether hospitality is a speech act, a meaning or a message. Since this initial inquiry does not result in a satisfactory outcome, we hypothesize hospitality as a speaker's strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. Moreover, we propose to look for hospitality through an analysis of the linguistic forms that are used in the communication between hosts and guests.

Overview of findings

Both qualitative and quantitative research techniques are used in the empirical part of this dissertation. In CHAPTER 2, we explore language usage in hospitality situations taken from a Colombian Spanish novel (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974)). The linguistic forms that constitute the speech acts within these kinds of situations have first been identified taking a qualitative approach. Departing from existing work on speech acts (Austin et al., 1975; Searle, 1969, 1975, 1978, 1979), and complementing this with theoretical insights from politeness theory (Brown & Levinson, 1987), we derive two

linguistic components that are used in hospitality situations. These are (1) modes of address (informal *T* and formal *V*), because they affect an interlocutor's positive face (viz., one's need to feel appreciated by others; Brown & Levinson, 1987), and (2) verb moods (indicative, subjunctive, and imperative mood), because they affect an interlocutor's negative face (viz., one's need to not feel impeded by others; Brown & Levinson, 1987). This leads us to conclude that hospitality is likely to be related to different linguistic systems interacting with the context. Furthermore, the quantitative analysis of the entire corpus indicates that, in hospitality situations, *V* is more likely to be used than *T*, whereas in non-hospitality situations, *T* is more likely to be used than *V*. On the other hand, the results suggest that hospitality situations do not necessarily differ from non-hospitality situations in the use of verb moods. Thus, other than with regard to modes of address, it remains difficult to relate a specific verb mood to hospitality situations.

Therefore, in CHAPTER 3 we reflect on the question how it is possible for speakers to distinguish between invitations (cf. speech acts that express a sense of hospitality) and orders (cf. speech acts that express a sense of hostility), if one and the same linguistic form (the imperative mood) is used to construct both acts. To address this issue, we analyze the meaning of 'to order' and 'to invite' (Wierzbicka, 1987) using a qualitative approach. We argue that these two speech acts have different beneficiaries; the beneficiary of orders is the speaker, whereas the interlocutor is the beneficiary of invitations. Although other authors (cf. Eslami, 2005; Hancher, 1979) already pointed to this issue, the changing role of the beneficiary is of more fundamental importance than has been assumed previously in the existing literature: in our view, it is crucial in understanding how language contributes to the interpretation of hospitality. This leads us to propose an amended model of orders and invitations, in which the notion of the beneficiary plays a key role. Furthermore, we propose that if the interlocutor is able to infer the intended beneficiary of the speech act from the context, it explains how an utterance in imperative mood is interpreted as an invitation, despite its linguistic form. And so, we conclude that hospitality indeed appears to be a strategy that aims at giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary.

In CHAPTER 4 we seek to find empirical support for this hypothesis. To this end, we analyze a corpus of Peninsular Spanish radio phone-in conversations between host and callers (cf. guests). In radio phone-in talk shows the host acts to grant callers

access to and subsequently remove them from the air (Hutchby, 1991). We argue that callers are the beneficiaries in the openings, since in these conversation parts they are invited to have their say on a certain topic. In contrast, the host supposedly is the beneficiary in the closings, since in these parts the host tries to get callers to stop talking. Moreover, we hypothesize that this shift in beneficiary is reflected in the use of different linguistic strategies applied by the host. We first qualitatively analyze a typical radio phone-in conversation in order to identify the different parts of the conversation, and to reveal the common linguistic strategies used in each part. We then statistically test our hypotheses using the entire corpus. The findings support our hypotheses. We conclude that the shift in beneficiary, from caller in the opening to host in the closing, involves a behavioral change of the host that is corroborated, to some extent, by the linguistic structures involved within both parts. As such, these findings constitute some independent support for our hypothesis with regard to hospitality.

Conclusions

In CHAPTER 5 we conclude that the findings of the empirical chapters in conjunction indicate that language INDIRECTLY – but persuasively – contributes to the interpretation of hospitality, namely, by giving the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary of the speech act. This feeling is achieved when the linguistic forms that are used in the communication between host and guest express a certain degree of (im)politeness, hostility, or friendliness in accordance with the circumstances of the speech act. Hence, hospitality takes different forms in language usage. Since language affects an interlocutor's positive and negative face, speakers 'play' with the enhancement of and the threat to either of the faces in order to be hospitable. And so, the linguistic forms that are used in the hospitality situations can be seen as varying from very polite to apparently extremely impolite. Therefore, the ability of the interlocutor to infer the intended beneficiary of the utterance is a decisive aspect in deriving a pragmatic message from an utterance. Thus, in order to recognize an imperative utterance as an invitation, the interlocutor needs to derive that not the speaker, but the interlocutor himself is supposed to have an interest in the action.

Towards a definition of hospitality from a pragmalinguistic perspective

Our findings suggest that hospitality is a strategy that aims to give the interlocutor the feeling of being the beneficiary. Acting as the catalyst between speech act, linguistic form, and the intended communicative message, it explains how it is possible that, in daily life, utterances constructed in imperative mood may be interpreted as hospitable and not as offensive. Hence, we conclude that hospitality is a strategy with great pragmatic impact.

Dutch summary

Samenvatting

Onderzoeksprobleem en doelstelling

In deze dissertatie onderzoeken we wat gastvrijheid is vanuit een pragmalinguïstisch perspectief. We kijken daarbij specifiek naar het probleem van de discrepantie tussen de pragmatische boodschap van een zinsuiting die wordt uitgedrukt door middel van een taalhandeling (Austin, Urmson, & Sbisà, 1975; Searle, 1969) en de taalkundige vormen die gebruikt worden om de taalhandeling op te stellen. We zijn in het bijzonder geïnteresseerd in de werking van bepaalde taalkundige vormen in het Spaans, zoals persoonlijk voornaamwoorden en werkwoordsvormen, op de pragmatische boodschap die uitgedrukt wordt in gastvrijheidssituaties. Niemand is verbaasd of beledigd wanneer dit soort boodschappen opgesteld worden in de gebiedende wijs. Echter, de gebiedende wijs wordt traditioneel gerelateerd aan het geven van bevelen, een taalhandeling die meer neigt naar vijandigheid dan naar gastvrijheid (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Haverkate, 2002).

We stellen dat de beschouwing van de context waarin een taalhandeling geuit wordt slechts deels de vraag beantwoordt hoe het mogelijk is dat de geïmpliceerde pragmatische boodschap afwijkt van de letterlijke betekenis van een zinsuiting. De vraag hoe interpretatie ontstaat blijft grotendeels onbeantwoord. Het begrijpen van hoe taal bijdraagt aan de interpretatie van gastvrijheid is het centrale doel van deze dissertatie. Allereerst proberen we om gastvrijheid te definiëren in taalkundige termen in HOOFDSTUK 1. Dat betekent dat we onderzoeken of gastvrijheid een taalhandeling, een betekenis of een boodschap is. Omdat dit niet resulteert in een bevredigend antwoord, formuleren we een hypothese met betrekking tot gastvrijheid, namelijk, dat gastvrijheid een strategie is van de spreker die erop gericht is om de hoorder het gevoel te geven de begunstigde te zijn. Bovendien stellen we voor om gastvrijheid te onderzoeken door middel van een analyse van de taalkundige vormen die gebruikt worden in de communicatie tussen gastheren en -vrouwen en hun gasten.

Overzicht van de onderzoeksbevindingen

Het empirische deel van deze dissertatie berust op zowel kwalitatieve als kwantitatieve onderzoekstechnieken. In HOOFDSTUK 2 verkennen we het taalgebruik in gastvrijheidssituaties uit een Colombiaans-Spaanse roman (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974)). Eerst hebben we de taalkundige vormen die gebruikt worden om taalhandelingen in

dit soort situaties vorm te geven onderzocht door middel van een kwalitatieve analyse. Gebruikmakend van bestaande definities van taalhandelingen (Austin et al., 1975; Searle, 1969, 1975, 1978, 1979), aangevuld met theoretische inzichten uit de beleefdheidstheorie (Brown & Levinson, 1987), hebben we twee aspecten onderscheiden die van belang zijn in gastvrijheidssituaties. Het eerste aspect betreft aanspreekwijzen (informele *T*- en formele *V*-vormen), aangezien de aanspreekwijze een effect heeft op de hoorders *positive face* (viz., de universele behoefte van sprekers om zich gewaardeerd te voelen door anderen; Brown & Levinson, 1987). Het tweede aspect betreft werkwoordsvormen (aantonende, aanvoegende en gebiedende wijs), aangezien de werkwoordsvorm een effect heeft op de hoorders *negative face* (viz., de universele behoefte van sprekers om zich niet belemmerd te voelen door anderen; Brown & Levinson, 1987). We concluderen dat het waarschijnlijk is dat gastvrijheid gerelateerd is aan verschillende taalkundige systemen die interacteren met de context. De kwantitatieve analyse van het gehele corpus toont aan dat het gebruik van *V* waarschijnlijker is in gastvrijheidssituaties dan *T*, terwijl in niet-gastvrijheidssituaties het gebruik van *T* waarschijnlijker is dan *V*. Daarnaast blijkt uit de resultaten dat er niet per definitie een verschil is tussen gastvrijheidssituaties en niet-gastvrijheidssituaties in het gebruik van werkwoordswijzen. Anders dan met betrekking tot aanspreekwijzen is het dus (nog) niet mogelijk om een specifieke werkwoordswijze te relateren aan gastvrijheidssituaties.

Om die reden focussen we ons in HOOFDSTUK 3 op het vraagstuk hoe het mogelijk is voor sprekers om een onderscheid te maken tussen uitnodigingen (cf. taalhandelingen die te relateren zijn aan gastvrijheid) en bevelen (cf. taalhandelingen die te relateren zijn aan vijandigheid), als één en dezelfde talige vorm (de gebiedende wijs) gebruikt kan worden om beide taalhandelingen uit te voeren. We analyseren de betekenis van *to order* 'bevelen' en *to invite* 'uitnodigen' (Wierzbicka, 1987) gebruikmakend van een kwalitatieve benadering. We betogen dat deze twee taalhandelingen verschillende begunstigden hebben; de begunstigde van bevelen is de spreker, terwijl de hoorder de begunstigde van uitnodigingen is. Hoewel andere auteurs (cf. Eslami, 2005; Hancher, 1979) dit punt al naar voren hebben gebracht, is de veranderende rol van de begunstigde van veel groter belang dan tot nu toe is aangenomen in de bestaande literatuur: in onze optiek is het een fundamenteel inzicht om te begrijpen hoe taal bijdraagt aan de interpretatie van gastvrijheid. Dit heeft ertoe geleid dat we een aangepast model van bevelen en uitnodigingen voorstellen, waarin

het begrip van de begunstigde een cruciale rol speelt. We veronderstellen bovendien dat indien de hoorder in staat is om de beoogde begunstigde af te leiden uit de context, dit kan verklaren hoe een zin die is opgesteld in gebiedende wijs wordt geïnterpreteerd als een uitnodiging, ondanks de gebruikte talige vorm. We concluderen dat gastvrijheid inderdaad gezien kan worden als een strategie die erop gericht is om de hoorder het gevoel te geven de begunstigde te zijn.

In HOOFDSTUK 4 pogen we empirische onderbouwing te vinden voor deze hypothese. Hiertoe hebben we een corpus van Spaanse radio-inbelgesprekken tussen de radiopresentatrice (cf. gastvrouw) en bellers (cf. gasten) geanalyseerd. In inbelpraatprogramma's geeft de radiopresentator of -presentatrice enerzijds de ruimte aan bellers om deel te nemen aan het programma. Anderzijds treedt hij/zij op om het gesprek tijdig af te sluiten (Hutchby, 1991). We stellen dat bellers de begunstigde zijn in de opening, aangezien zij in dit deel van het gesprek uitgenodigd worden om hun mening te geven over een bepaald onderwerp. De radiopresentatrice is, daarentegen, de begunstigde van het slotdeel, aangezien zij in dit deel van het gesprek probeert om het gesprek af te ronden. We veronderstellen daarbij dat de verschuiving van de rol van begunstigde af te leiden is uit het gebruik van verschillende taalkundige strategieën door de radiopresentatrice. Eerst hebben we een standaard inbelgesprek kwalitatief geanalyseerd om de verschillende delen van een dergelijk gesprek te identificeren, en om de meest gebruikte taalkundige strategieën in elk deel te onderscheiden. Daarna hebben we onze hypotheses statistisch getest op basis van het gehele corpus. De bevindingen ondersteunen onze hypotheses. We concluderen dat de verschuiving van de rol van begunstigde, van beller in de opening tot radiopresentatrice in het slotdeel, een gedragsverandering van de radiopresentatrice met zich meebrengt die wordt bevestigd door de taalkundige vormen die gebruikt worden in beide delen. Deze bevindingen kunnen gezien worden als onafhankelijke onderbouwing van onze hypothese met betrekking tot gastvrijheid.

Conclusies

In HOOFDSTUK 5 concluderen we dat de bevindingen gepresenteerd in de empirische hoofdstukken tezamen erop wijzen dat taal INDIRECT – maar overtuigend – bijdraagt aan de interpretatie van gastvrijheid, namelijk, door de hoorder het gevoel te geven de begunstigde te zijn van de taalhandeling. Dit gevoel wordt bereikt wanneer de talige

vormen die gebruikt worden in de communicatie tussen gast en gastheer/-vrouw een bepaalde mate van (on)beleefdheid, vijandigheid of vriendelijkheid uitdrukken, afhankelijk van de omstandigheden van de taalhandeling. Hieruit volgt dat gastvrijheid verschillende vormen kan aannemen in taalgebruik. Omdat taal invloed heeft op de hoorders *positive* en *negative face*, 'spelen' sprekers met de versterking en de bedreiging van beide *faces* om gastvrij te zijn. Dientengevolge kunnen de taalkundige vormen die gebruikt worden in de gastvrijheidssituaties opgevat worden als variërend van bijzonder beleefd tot ogenschijnlijk buitengewoon onbeleefd. We concluderen dus dat de bekwaamheid van de hoorder om de beoogde begunstigde te identificeren een doorslaggevend aspect is in het afleiden van een pragmatische boodschap van een talige uiting. Om een uiting met een gebiedende wijs te herkennen als een uitnodiging, moet de hoorder in staat zijn om af te leiden dat hij verondersteld wordt zelf een belang te hebben in de handeling en niet de spreker.

Op weg naar een definitie van gastvrijheid vanuit een pragmalinguïstisch perspectief

Uit onze bevindingen komt naar voren dat gastvrijheid een strategie is die erop gericht is om de hoorder het gevoel te geven de begunstigde te zijn. Fungerend als katalysator tussen taalhandeling, talige vorm en de gecommuniceerde boodschap verklaart het hoe het mogelijk is dat, in het dagelijks leven, uitingen die in de gebiedende wijs plaatsvinden geïnterpreteerd kunnen worden als gastvrij en niet per se als beledigend. Derhalve is onze conclusie dat gastvrijheid een strategie met grote pragmatische impact is.

Spanish summary

Resumen

Problema de investigación y objetivo

En esta tesis de doctorado se ha investigado la noción de la hospitalidad desde una perspectiva pragmalingüística. Nos hemos enfocado especialmente en el problema de la discrepancia entre el mensaje pragmático de un enunciado que se expresa mediante actos de habla (Austin, Urmson, & Sbisà, 1975; Searle, 1969) y las formas lingüísticas que construyen estos actos. En este respecto, nos interesa, principalmente, la contribución de ciertas formas lingüísticas en español, como, por ejemplo, pronombres personales y modo verbal, al mensaje pragmático expresado en situaciones de hospitalidad. Nadie se sorprende ni se siente ofendido cuando el modo verbal utilizado en estos mensajes es el imperativo – sorprendentemente un modo que se relaciona, tradicionalmente, a dar órdenes, un acto más bien hostil (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Haverkate, 2002).

Argumentamos que la investigación del contexto de un acto de habla solo en parte soluciona la pregunta de cómo es que el mensaje pragmático se desvía del significado literal de un enunciado. La pregunta de cómo se forma la interpretación queda por responder. El objetivo principal de esta tesis, por lo tanto, es desarrollar un entendimiento de cómo el lenguaje contribuye a la interpretación de la hospitalidad. Primero, intentamos definir la hospitalidad en términos lingüísticos en el CAPÍTULO 1. Es decir, cabe preguntarse si la hospitalidad es un acto de habla, un significado o un mensaje. Como no ha resultado en una respuesta satisfactoria, formulamos una hipótesis acerca de la hospitalidad, a saber, que la hospitalidad es una estrategia por parte del hablante con el fin de darle al interlocutor la impresión de ser el beneficiario. Además, proponemos investigar la hospitalidad mediante un análisis de las formas lingüísticas que se utilizan en la comunicación entre anfitriones y sus huéspedes.

Recopilación de los resultados

Se han utilizado tanto técnicas de investigación cualitativa como cuantitativa en la parte empírica de esta tesis. En el CAPÍTULO 2 exploramos el uso del lenguaje en situaciones de hospitalidad sacadas de una novela colombiana (Carrasquilla, 1928 (1974)). Primero, se han identificado las formas lingüísticas que construyen los actos de habla en este tipo de situaciones mediante un estudio cualitativo. Partiendo de la literatura existente sobre los actos de habla (Austin et al., 1975; Searle, 1969, 1975,

1978, 1979), junto con conocimientos teóricos de la teoría de cortesía (Brown & Levinson, 1987), hemos derivado dos componentes que pueden intervenir en situaciones de hospitalidad, a saber, (1) el modo de tratamiento (familiar *T* y formal *V*), ya que influye en la imagen positiva del interlocutor (viz., el deseo universal de sentirse apreciado por el otro; Brown & Levinson, 1987), y (2) el modo verbal (indicativo, subjuntivo e imperativo), ya que influye en la imagen negativa del interlocutor (viz., el deseo universal de no sufrir imposiciones por el otro; Brown & Levinson, 1987). Hemos concluido que la hospitalidad parece estar vinculada a sistemas lingüísticas diferentes que interactúan con el contexto. Además de esto, el análisis cuantitativo del corpus entero indica que, en las situaciones de hospitalidad, es más probable que se use *V* que *T*, mientras que en las situaciones de non-hospitalidad, es más probable que se use *T* que *V*. Los resultados también indican que no hay una diferencia en cuanto al uso de los modos verbales entre las situaciones de hospitalidad y las de non-hospitalidad. Así que, a diferencia con los modos de tratamiento, (todavía) no es posible relatar un modo verbal específico a las situaciones de hospitalidad.

En el CAPÍTULO 3, por lo tanto, nos enfocamos en la pregunta de cómo los hablantes saben distinguir entre una invitación (cf. un acto de habla que expresa hospitalidad) y una orden (cf. un acto de habla que expresa hostilidad), si ambos actos de habla se pueden construir con la misma forma lingüística (el modo imperativo). Para abordar este asunto, hemos llevado a cabo un análisis cualitativo del significado de *to order* 'ordenar' y *to invite* 'invitar' (Wierzbicka, 1987). Planteamos que estos dos actos de habla tienen beneficiarios diferentes; el beneficiario de ordenar es el hablante, mientras que el interlocutor es el beneficiario de invitar. Aunque otros autores (cf. Eslami, 2005; Hancher, 1979) ya han revelado este asunto, el papel del beneficiario es de importancia más fundamental de lo que se ha supuesto en la literatura existente: en nuestra opinión, es decisivo para entender cómo el lenguaje contribuye a la interpretación de la hospitalidad. Por consiguiente, hemos propuesto un modelo adaptado de invitar y de ordenar, en los cuales la noción del beneficiario juega un papel clave. Así, proponemos que si el interlocutor es capaz de deducir el beneficiario entendido de un enunciado, explicará la interpretación de un enunciado en modo imperativo como una invitación, no obstante el modo verbal. De ahí que concluimos que la hospitalidad parece ser una estrategia con el fin de darle al interlocutor la impresión de ser el beneficiario.

Intentamos encontrar apoyo empírico para esta hipótesis en el CAPÍTULO 4. Para tal fin, hemos analizado un corpus de conversaciones telefónicas por la radio en español peninsular, en que cada conversación representa una situación de hospitalidad en que los oyentes (o sea, los huéspedes) 'visitan' a la locutora de radio (o sea, la anfitriona) por teléfono. En este tipo de conversaciones el locutor actúa para sacar a los oyentes al aire por un lado, y para quitarlos del aire por el otro (Hutchby, 1991). Argumentamos que los oyentes son los beneficiarios en la apertura, visto que en esta parte de la conversación son invitados a dar su opinión sobre un asunto específico, mientras que la locutora es la beneficiaria en el cierre, ya que en esta parte intenta silenciar a los participantes. Dado que hemos propuesto la hipótesis de que el cambio en beneficiario se ve reflejado en el uso de diferentes estrategias lingüísticas por parte de la locutora, primero, hemos llevado a cabo un análisis cualitativo de una llamada telefónica típica para identificar las partes diferentes de cada conversación, así como para revelar las estrategias lingüísticas más comunes en cada parte. Luego, hemos evaluado estadísticamente nuestras predicciones utilizando todo el corpus. Los resultados apoyan las hipótesis. Concluimos que el cambio en beneficiario, del oyente en la apertura a la locutora en el cierre, implica un cambio de comportamiento de la locutora que se corrobora, hasta cierto punto, por las formas lingüísticas utilizadas en cada parte. Estos resultados se pueden interpretar como un apoyo empírico para nuestra hipótesis con respecto a la hospitalidad.

Conclusiones

En el CAPÍTULO 5 concluimos que los resultados de los capítulos empíricos en conjunto indican que el lenguaje contribuye de manera INDIRECTA – pero de modo persuasivo – a la interpretación de la hospitalidad, a saber, en darle al interlocutor la impresión de ser el beneficiario del acto de habla. Esta impresión se logra cuando las formas lingüísticas que se usan en la comunicación entre anfitrión y huésped expresan un cierto grado de (des)cortesía, hostilidad o amabilidad de acuerdo con las circunstancias del acto de habla. Así, hemos concluido que la hospitalidad toma formas diferentes en el uso del lenguaje. Como el lenguaje influye en la imagen positiva y negativa del interlocutor, los hablantes 'juegan' con el refuerzo y la amenaza de ambas imágenes para ser hospitalario. En consecuencia, las formas lingüísticas encontradas en las situaciones de hospitalidad se pueden interpretar como desde muy

corteses a, por lo visto, sumamente descorteses. De ahí que hemos concluido que la capacidad del interlocutor para deducir el beneficiario entendido de un enunciado es un aspecto decisivo en la derivación adecuada del mensaje pragmático. Es decir, para reconocer un enunciado imperativo como una invitación, el interlocutor debe ser capaz de deducir que él mismo tiene, supuestamente, un interés en la acción.

Hacia una definición de la hospitalidad desde una perspectiva pragmalingüística

Nuestros resultados indican que la hospitalidad es una estrategia por parte del hablante con el fin de darle al interlocutor la impresión de ser el beneficiario. Actuando como el catalizador entre el acto de habla, la forma lingüística y el mensaje pragmático, esta definición explica cómo es posible que, en la vida diaria, expresiones construidas en modo imperativo son interpretadas como hospitalarias y no como ofensivas. Por ello, hemos llegado a la conclusión de que la hospitalidad es una estrategia con gran impacto pragmático.

Acknowledgements

Dankwoord

Alleen een kleurrijk palet aan mensen kan een interdisciplinair proefschrift als deze tot stand brengen.

Mijn dank gaat allereerst uit naar mijn copromotor Bob de Jonge. Dank voor je kritische blik, je creatieve manier van denken en alle bemoedigende woorden die ik al zo lang (zo'n 15 jaar inmiddels!) van je ontvang. Je bent niet alleen betrokken geweest bij mijn proefschrift, maar ook bij andere belangrijke gebeurtenissen in mijn leven de afgelopen jaren. Ik heb dat als een grote steun en als zeer plezierig ervaren. Ook gaat mijn dank uit naar mijn copromotor Ruud Welten. Je hebt mijn blik op wetenschap verruimd door kritische vragen te stellen en mij aan te sporen vooral geen sáái e teksten te schrijven. Op de werkvloer, bij de Hospitality Business School, was je een grote inspiratiebron voor mij en voor vele andere collega's. Dat was een mooie tijd waar ik met veel plezier op terugkijk. Ik ben Hub Hermans dankbaar voor zijn optreden als promotor. Dank voor de inspirerende gesprekken die we in dat kader hadden en voor het vertrouwen dat je in me had, ook wanneer het (flink) tegen zat. Tot slot dank ik jullie alle drie voor jullie bereidheid om over de grenzen van jullie eigen vakgebied heen te kijken en de verbinding te zoeken. Ik besef me terdege dat dat niet altijd eenvoudig moet zijn geweest. Zonder jullie was dit proefschrift er niet gekomen!

Voor de financiering van het promotietraject gaat mijn dank uit naar Hogeschool Saxion. In het bijzonder wil ik Mirjam Koster, voormalig directeur van de Hospitality Business School, bedanken voor het bieden van de gelegenheid om het promotietraject te starten. Binnen een hogeschool is het schrijven van een proefschrift geen vanzelfsprekendheid. Ik ben Hogeschool Saxion dan ook dankbaar voor de vooruitstrevendheid hierin. In aanvulling hierop dank ik de Graduate School for the Humanities van de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, en in het bijzonder Marijke Wubbolts, voor het bieden van een werkplek en het verlenen van toegang tot cursussen en ICT-faciliteiten. De samenwerking tussen Hogeschool Saxion en Rijksuniversiteit Groningen is wat mij betreft een prachtig voorbeeld van hoe praktijk en wetenschap elkaar kunnen dienen en zelfs versterken.

Ik dank mijn voormalige collega's van de Hospitality Business School voor hun interesse in en steun bij het schrijven van dit proefschrift. In het bijzonder dank ik Cindy Kuiper. Als collega-promovenda wist jij als geen ander de juiste woorden te kiezen bij het uitwisselen van hoogte- en dieptepunten tijdens het promotietraject. Ik heb daar heel veel steun aan gehad. Ook de rol van mijn paranimf Almudena

González Gutiérrez de León bij de totstandkoming van dit proefschrift verdient alle lof. *Almu, gracias por ayudarme en la construcción de las bases de datos, por mandarme las fotos de los carteles divertidos e interesantes que encontrabas en tu querida Madrid, por subirme los ánimos cuando hacía falta, en fin, por estar a mi lado, hasta en la defensa.*

Mijn huidige collega's van de Academie Leisure & Tourism van NHL Stenden Hogeschool wil ik graag bedanken voor het gastvrije onthaal dat ze mij geboden hebben. Mijn teamleider Sandra Hoekstra en mijn naaste collega's Edou Hilverda en Mark van Driel dank ik in het bijzonder. Jullie gaven me vanaf mijn eerste werkdag het gevoel thuis te zijn in Leeuwarden.

Bemoedigende woorden bij het schrijven van dit proefschrift ontving ik niet alleen op de werkvloer. Omdat het leven gewoon doorgaat, ook tijdens een promotietraject, is het luisterend oor van mijn vrienden en familie voor mij van grote waarde geweest. Ik heb het geluk dat jullie met velen zijn: bedankt, lieve mensen, voor jullie aanwezigheid in mijn leven.

Een speciaal woord van dank gaat uit naar mijn ouders, Hans en Joke Schreurs. Bedankt voor al die keren dat jullie wilden oppassen op de kinderen zodat ik extra werktijd had. En bedankt, boven alles, voor alle liefde die jullie geven, een leven lang al, en tijdens het schrijven van dit proefschrift in het bijzonder. Dank ook aan mijn schoonouders, Gerard en Nynke Jansen, voor de betrokkenheid bij ons gezin. Dank voor al het oppassen, zodat ik mijn proefschrift – mijn 'derde kind' – op de wereld kon zetten.

Maar de kinderen waar het natuurlijk echt om draait in mijn leven, dat zijn Norah en Abel. Jullie werden allebei geboren gedurende het promotietraject. Veel 'proefschriftleed' verdween als sneeuw voor de zon bij jullie aanblik! De laatste woorden in dit proefschrift zijn voor jou, Wiebren. Dankzij jouw niet aflatende begrip, je vertrouwen, je geduld en je hulp, heb ik dit promotietraject tot een goed einde kunnen brengen. Ik prijs me gelukkig dat je me ook tijdens de verdediging bij wilt staan als paranimf. Met onze proefschriften op zak, en samen met onze kinderen, gaan we op naar de toekomst. Ik houd van jullie alle drie.

About the author

Leanne Schreurs (Heerenveen, 1982) obtained a Master of Arts degree in Romance Languages and Cultures from the University of Groningen (UG) in 2006. As part of her study career, she spent one semester at the University of Barcelona within the Erasmus exchange student programme. In the final year of her studies, she returned to Barcelona to do an internship in communication and business administration at the export department of a steel wire company. Meanwhile, she finished her Master thesis about Spanish forms of address.

As part of her Master thesis project, she constructed a corpus based on a 20th century Colombian Spanish novel written by Tomás Carrasquilla. Coincidentally, during the latter stay in Barcelona, she met the close relatives of the author of the novel. She spent many hours with them reading and organizing the author's legacy, both in Spain and in Colombia.

After finishing her studies in 2006, she continued working at the steel wire company in Barcelona, where she was in charge of selling steel wire to the Dutch and Belgian paper recycling industry. The next year, she moved to Costa Rica to take the job of school manager at a Spanish language school. Here, she discovered her passion for teaching. As a result, she started a language lab to give private classes in Spanish, English and French.

She returned to the Netherlands in 2008 to work as a lecturer of Spanish at the Romance Languages and Cultures department of the UG. Meanwhile, she continued the research on Spanish forms of address in cooperation with her Master's supervisor. She obtained her University Teaching Qualification of the UG in 2010.

In the same year, she joined the Hospitality Business School (HBS) of Saxion University of Applied Sciences (UAS). She was involved in several educational activities, such as courses on Spanish as a foreign language, doing research and academic writing. Moreover, in 2013, she was able to formally embed her research on Spanish forms of address within a PhD project. This project was a cooperation between the UG and the Research Group Ethics and Global Citizenship of Saxion HBS. In her PhD research in the field of Pragmatics she investigated how language usage contributes to hospitality.

After finishing the PhD project in 2019, she continued her career as a senior lecturer and researcher within the Academy of Leisure & Tourism of NHL Stenden UAS. Here, she coordinates the line of research in the curriculum of Leisure and Events Management.